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THEOLOGICAL
EDUCATOR



THE GIFT OF
Victor F. Brown

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A MANUAL
OF
CHURCH HISTORY.

BY THE REV.
A. C. JENNINGS, M.A.,

RECTOR OF KING'S STANLEY

Author of "Ecclesia Anglicana," "A Commentary on the Psalms," etc.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE object of this work is to present to theological students the prominent incidents of Church History in as terse language as possible. The Author has sedulously endeavoured to avoid introducing inferences and reflections of a partisan tone. His aim has been to represent the facts from an ethical rather than a religious standpoint, and to exclude the influence of theological proclivity. He readily admits that such a historical method is of very small educational value. The utmost that can be expected from this work is that it may be useful to candidates for examinations, and may serve as a stepping-stone to historical studies of a more philosophical character.

Victor F. Brown

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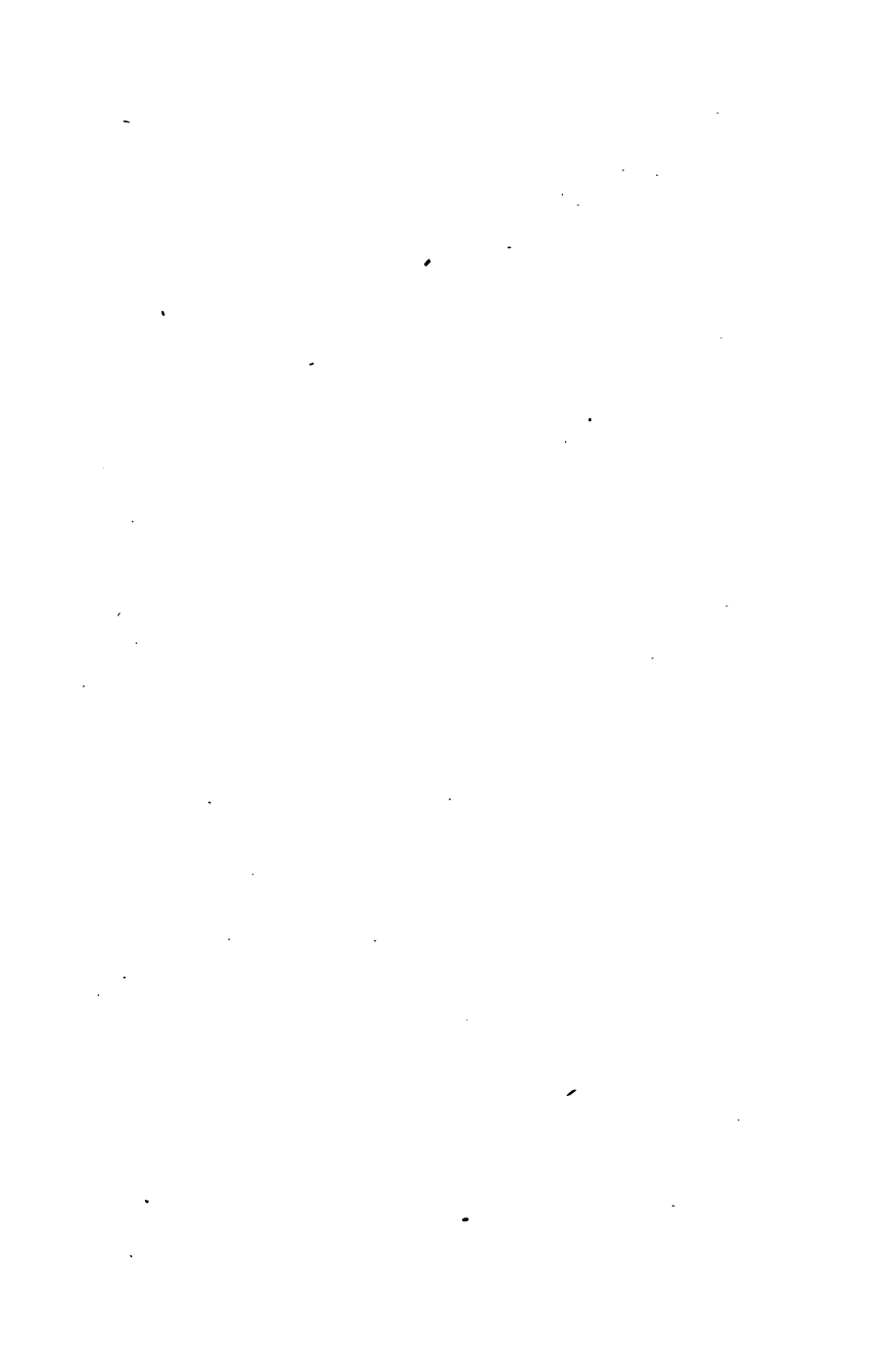
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CHAPTER I.

FIRST CENTURY.

IT is generally agreed that the New Testament represents St. Paul as detained at Rome from cir. A.D. 60 to A.D. 63, and that during these years he wrote the Epistles to Philemon and the Churches of Colossæ and Philippi. From internal evidence it is argued that the Pastoral Epistles were written during a second imprisonment at Rome, and while the trial of the Apostle was impending. A statement in Clemens Romanus' surviving Epistle supports the later account of Eusebius, that the interval was spent in missionary labours in Western Europe. The MS. known as the "Canon of Muratori" (dating probably cir. 175), mentions St. Paul's journey to Spain; and Theodoret extends his travels to the "islands lying in the ocean," thus apparently making him the founder of British Christianity. Combining the testimonies of Tertullian, Origen (in Eusebius), and Lactantius, we gather that St. Peter and St. Paul were executed in Rome by Nero in A.D. 67—68, the former being crucified, the latter beheaded. In Jerome's time the tradition ran that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome and was there twenty-five years. The martyrdom of these Apostles

Closing years
of St. Peter
and St. Paul.

may be considered a probable fact, the episcopate of Peter a questionable explanation of his presence at Rome, and its twenty-five years' range a fable confuted by the Scripture history itself. The statement that the Apostles suffered in the fourteenth year of Nero need not clash with Tacitus' record of the attack on

Nero's
persecution. the Christians in his tenth year. A persecution, at first prompted by Nero's desire to attach the stigma of the great fire to the already odious sect of Christians, may have begun in A.D. 64, and continued with intermissions till the emperor's death in A.D. 68. The accounts represent Nero's victims as suffering fearful cruelties. They were crucified, cast to wild beasts in the arena, and even smeared with pitch and burnt as living torches to light the public gardens. It is uncertain whether the persecution extended beyond Rome. No other is recorded till that of Domitian.

We may here describe cursorily the general status of Christianity in the times before Constantine and its relations to the pagan world. In so doing we must introduce by anticipation matters that will be treated in detail later on.

Early
Christianity—
its doctrinal
development.

1. *Doctrine.*—The New Testament testifies that even in Apostolic times the great principle of spiritual Christianity—personal union with the Eternal Son by the agency of the two sacraments—was modified by contact with the narrow literalism of Jewish converts and with the speculations of Alexandrian philosophy. A third dominant influence was that of the Roman political system. From this source

came those defined ideas of organisation and unity, which specially characterise the centuries subsequent to Constantine. The student will bear in mind that it is in relation to these modifying influences that the story of Christianity must be studied to be rightly understood. In Church history even more than in the Bible a Divine power is obscured by the human agencies through which it works. A tolerant mind will probably allow that in its most essential features the developed system of the future lay in embryo in Apostolic times. It may be added, that the present acceptance of the conclusions of the great Councils by most Christian communities itself argues that the development was mainly consistent with the requirements of society, and the welfare of mankind. If the Church, in the course of this evolution, is often found misconstruing metaphor as dogma, vesting externals of heathen or Jewish origin with undue importance, or enforcing unity at the expense of civil or intellectual freedom, the element of human infirmity will be borne in mind. In no age is Christ's kingdom on earth free from blemish. Faith may nevertheless detect a Divine Hand ordering the mode of its development, and adapting its aspect to the spiritual, social and intellectual wants of the successive ages.

2. *Officers and their functions.*—The early evolution of the three well-known orders is perhaps Its official
body. to be inferred from the New Testament, though this form of constitution was certainly not everywhere accepted even in the middle of the second century. Over the clergy of extensive Christian centres was usually, it seems, an *episcopus*, who

practically supplied the place of the Apostle who had first presided. The transition is seen in the case of James of Jerusalem, termed by Paul an *Apostle*, but by the next generation a *Bishop*. The bishop was doubtless at first regarded only as the presiding presbyter, a view seemingly maintained in England by Elfric the Canonist as late as cir. 995. But Ignatius' Epistles assign to the episcopate a distinct grade, and the tendency henceforward was to emphasise the difference of office. Other titles were *ἄρχων*, *princeps*, *præsul*, *angelus*; later we find the Jewish title *summus sacerdos* and the heathen *pontifex* applied to the episcopate. In the second clerical order the names are equally misleading. *Presbyter* is the fixed name after Apostolic times (the titles *προεστὴς*, *πρόεδρος*, *antistes*, etc., being also occasionally applied to the presbyter as president of the congregation). But the term *episcopus* is also clearly applied in the New Testament to any presbyter. This officer probably from the first corresponded as little to the "elder" as to the "priest" of Judaism. The latter term largely supplanted the title "presbyter," as defined sacerdotal theories gained sway. In this regard we notice that besides such correspondences between the two dispensations as are elaborated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, an official analogy was suggested by the adoption of the Jewish system in respect to clerical salaries. At the end of the second century the Christian clergy claimed first-fruits if not tithes as a right.

Sacerdotalism developed. But the growth of sacerdotalism was more specially connected with the tendency to define the Sacramental Presence of Christ in

the Holy Communion. The actual sacrifice of service and oblations, which originated the term "Eucharist," was gradually obscured by a theoretical sacrifice of the Saviour's Body and Blood. This latter idea is plainly discernible in the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom cir. 400. With these forms the reader may contrast the simpler accounts of the Eucharist in Justin's *Apology* and the *Teaching of the Twelve* in the second century.

The third order, the *deacons*, retains the name of Scriptural times. But as objective wor-
The deacons.
ship developed, the deacon's functions as almoner were united with fixed duties in the *Leitourgia*. In Justin's time the deacons administer the sacramental cup; later we find they are deputed to read the Gospel and the prayer for the universal Church. Deacons were empowered to baptize, but it was thought better, where possible, that baptism should be received from a bishop and followed at once by confirmation.

We find that Easter and Whitsuntide, and in some places Epiphany, were the seasons
Baptismal Service.
preferred for the Baptismal rites in the third and fourth centuries. The *Teaching of the Twelve* (cir. 100—140) is the earliest authority for a triple affusion as an alternative. The normal practice of immersion is indicated in Tertullian's "tex mergitamar." But sometimes it would seem a triple affusion accompanied the triple immersion, a use maintained in the Armenian Church to this day. Eunomius, the semi-Arian, cir. 360, introduced a practice of single immersion, which is after-

wards found prevailing among the orthodox of Spain. It was generally held that laymen might baptize in case of emergency. But baptism by women was thought monstrous by Tertullian; and was forbidden by the fourth Council of Carthage, 398. The practice of baptizing infants is attested by Irenæus, Clemens Alex., and Tertullian; and the learned Origen believed it to have prevailed from Apostolic times. Yet a strong predilection for adult baptism must have survived into the fourth century. We frequently find cases where the Christianity of one or both parents did not suggest the baptism of the child. Thus Gregory of Nazianzus, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine all attained manhood unbaptized.

In the Communion Office the recital of the Saviour's words of Institution was probably for some time the only fixed form. In Justin's day the "president" is described as offering up prayers and thanksgivings "according to his ability," *i.e.* extemporaneously. Gradually developed, the Liturgy had assumed in the fourth century a stereotyped form both in East and West. The best known types of the "Canon of the Liturgy" in the East are those named St. James', and St. Mark's, and that of Nestorius. The prevailing Western type hereafter is that of Ambrose, reshaped, cir. 600, by Gregory the Great. There was also the (perhaps earlier) Gallican canon of France, which some suppose to have regulated the ritual of the early British Church.

X The usual principle of episcopal election was, till the times of State connexion, democratic, the

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principle being "nullis invitis detur episcopus." But the laity often allowed the clergy to nominate, and only interposed with attestations as to personal character. Elections by popular acclamation were long the rule at Rome; but elsewhere they fell into abeyance after Justinian's law vested the election in the local clergy and leading citizens. The appointment of presbyters to churches was seemingly soon vested in the bishop. Yet the Council of Carthage in A.D. 399 demands the consent of the people.

We need scarcely observe that the "evangelists," "prophets," "shepherds," and "teachers," of the New Testament, are unknown in subsequent times as distinct grades in the Christian official organisation. But there were minor clerical orders, which can be traced as far back as the second century. The five that survived in the West were *subdeacons*, *acolythi* (who performed menial duties at the *Leitourgia*), *lectores* (who kept and read aloud the Scripture MSS.), *exorcists* (men presumably whose gifts capacitated them for ministering to the sick), and *ostiarii* or vergers. It remains for us to notice the functions of the *chorepiscopi* and *deaconesses*. The former appear from the fourth to the ninth century. They managed large country districts. Save among the Nestorians and Monophysites, they were of episcopal rank, and their function was analogous to a colonial bishop's rather than a modern rural dean's. The jealousy of the diocesan bishops led to the abolition of *chorepiscopi* in A.D. 888. The office of deaconess

Appointment
of officers.

Extraordinary
and minor
offices.

is mentioned in the New Testament. It survived from Apostolic times till the Council of Orange, A.D. 441. The deaconesses were ordained by bishops, and besides doing work as district visitors, had to attend their sex at the baptisteries. For a time the Churches were independent isolated bodies; hence the difficulty of attaining a general view of the early organisation and ritual. The idea of federation produced synods, the first of which (in A.D. 170) met to discuss the heresy of Montanus. Of this idea the Patriarchates and metropolitan sees were another outcome. Under Constantine the number of Patriarchates was made to agree (or agreed already) with the number of Prætorian Prefects, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople being the four Patriarchal centres. The dignity was subsequently conferred on Jerusalem.

+ 3. *Miraculous Powers*.—When these ceased to be exercised cannot be decided. Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian testify to their survival in the second century. In the third, Origen describes as eye-witness how “many were released from grievous diseases, fits and frenzies . . . which neither men nor demons healed.” In the psychology of the times, and its connexion with a doctrine of demoniacal influences, perhaps lies the true explanation of such statements. Augustine and Chrysostom testify that in their day the miracles of the Apostolic time had ceased. Yet Augustine significantly adds a list of recent miracles which he does not discredit. Numerous spurious miracles deceived the people in the ages following. Yet these were doubtless simi-

Cessation of
miracles.

larly distinguished from the miracles of Scripture by those with whom they gained credence. The most rational view seems to be, that the power of working what we now call miracles was vouchsafed only to the first preachers of Christianity, and was not renewed after the close of the Apostolic age.

4. *Relations to Society*.—An offshoot of Judaism, and numbering more Jews than Gentiles, Christianity was repeatedly assailed by Jewish zealots of the "Saul of Tarsus" type. The Church's
relations to
society.

Repudiating intellectual prerogatives, and appealing to the poor, ignorant, and enslaved, it irritated the refined, cultured, and scientific classes of pagan society. But where directly proscribed it was usually as traversing the Roman theory of "religion." Rome knew only State religions and national gods. New deities *nisi publice adsciti* are an offence to Cicero; and the jurist Julius punishes their fautors with banishment or death. Within these lines Rome was widely tolerant, the idolatries of new provinces becoming *religiones licitæ*, permissible at Rome itself. But to the Roman the idea of one religion was probably as chimerical as a scheme for a universal language would be to us now. Christianity would thus rouse hostility as being new, not national (indeed a revolt from a national religion), not a *religio licita*, not even recognising the emperor's divinity, yet itself intolerant and actively aggressive. Further, Christianity had no sacrifices, temples, statues, etc. Far from parading itself externally, it deliberately confined its appeal to the conscience and heart. This position was misunderstood, and the Christians were ranked with

"Atheists," a class particularly hateful to Roman ideas. Christianity offended also by the mysterious secrecy of its gatherings. The Christian apologists continually refute charges of strange sorcery, nocturnal obscenities, "Thyestean" banquets. It is probable that the gatherings of both sexes at the evening agapæ provoked these calumnies.

Having set before the student this sketch of the early Christian constitution and its internal and external relations, we shall proceed with our compendium of its history, adopting for convenience sake the artificial division of centuries. Resuming our account of the first century, we notice the fulfilment of the Divine sentence on Jerusalem, by the agency of Titus, A.D. 70. Revolt had been roused in Judæa by the tyranny of the procurator, Gessius Florus; it was vainly opposed by the Syrian governor, Cestius Gallus, and was only crushed, after six years' fighting, in the fearful event recorded by Josephus. It is said that on this occasion the Christians of Jerusalem escaped—Symeon their bishop, reading a fulfilment of the warning in Matthew xxiv. 15—20, and conducting their flight to Pella on the east side of Jordan. Here a Christian colony certainly survived till the fifth century, and from Pella apparently emanated, in the second century, the sects of Ebionites and Nazarenes, which we may here conveniently notice.

The first of these names means nothing more than "poor men" (Hebr. *ebyônîm*). It was probably at first a Jewish nickname for Christ's followers, as was certainly the term "Naza-

The Ebionites
and Nazarenes.

renes." But both were applied contemptuously by orthodox Christians. The *Ebionites* were Judaizing Christians, who saw in the Gospel only a development of Judaism; denounced St. Paul; regarded Christ as first consecrated to the Messiahship by John the Baptist, the second Elias; and held that He would yet restore Jerusalem as the seat of the Theocracy. The *Nazarenes* were a very different sect. Jerome, who found them quartered at Berœa, in Syria, describes them as hotly opposed to the Pharisaical school, and mourning over the unbelief of their nation. They saw in St. Paul's mission a fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies. They used a Hebrew Gospel, which agreed with St. Matthew in relating the miraculous birth of Christ, and they recognised the doctrine of His Divinity. Though retaining the ordinances of Moses, they exempted Gentile Christians from their observance.

Palestine was destined to give birth to much strange teaching. Among the heresiarchs of the first century are mentioned Dositheus Other Jewish sectaries. and Simon Magus. Both, it seems, were Samaritan pretenders to a peculiar inspiration. Of Dositheus very little is known, and Simon's name is connected with wild and inconsistent stories. Probably the later Gnostics chose him as the hero of their myths on account of his doings in Acts viii. Of Simon's legendary pupil, Menander, who taught at Antioch cir. A.D. 100, as little can be said. He is represented as claiming to be a Gnostic Æon incarnate.

Domitian (A.D. 81) is said to have persecuted the Church. It seems that this suspicious ruler got rid of

several leading Romans by imputations of Atheism and Jewish manners. Whether any edict ^{Domitian's persecution.} was passed against Jews and Christians generally is uncertain. Flavius Clemens, the Emperor's cousin, and Acilius Glabro, perhaps suffered as Christians. Tertullian's tale of St. John's safe escape from a cauldron of boiling oil wherein he was immersed in front of the Porta Latina, is generally discredited; but we may accept Irenæus' statement, that the Apostle's banishment to Patmos belongs to this time. Hegesippus records that Domitian arrested two Christians, descendants of David and kinsmen of Christ, misunderstanding their expectation of a heavenly kingdom, and that when convinced they were but poor innocent countrymen, he dismissed them in peace. Possibly this incident ended the persecution; as Tertullian speaks of Domitian "desisting, and recalling the banished." Nerva, at all events (A.D. 96), undid the policy of his predecessor, by punishing all professional informers, and recalling their victims. During this reign the popular complaints against Christians were suspended or disregarded.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND CENTURY.

EARLY in the second century, Trajan's law against close associations (*Heteriæ*) renewed the troubles of the Christians. The letter of Pliny, Proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia (A.D. 110), dwells on the growth of Christianity, and records all he learnt about the new religion by torturing two deaconesses. The early Sunday gathering, the pledge (*sacramentum*) to abstain from sin, and the "innocent" evening-meal are specified. Pliny had executed, for their "inflexible obstinacy," certain Christians who persistently refused to abjure and to offer libations; and Trajan's rescript justifies this treatment, though prohibiting anonymous accusations or active persecution.

Trajan's
persecution.
Letter of
Pliny.

Hegesippus relates that Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, was martyred at this time, in extreme old age. Clemens, who is said to have succeeded Linus as Bishop of Rome, died in the third year of Trajan (Eusebius). This Clemens has been identified with St. Paul's friend (cf. Phil. iv. 3), and it may have been on this account that his Epistle to the Corinthians was regarded sometimes as canonical. It is found in the

Symeon, Clemens
Romanus,
Ignatius,
Papias.

Codex Alexandrinus with the N. T. books. In its doctrine and style it continually reminds us of the Apostles. A second Greek Epistle, and a number of other works, were in the early ages wrongly ascribed to Clement. It is said that Ignatius, St. John's disciple and Bishop of Antioch, was condemned by Trajan himself and thrown to wild beasts. His Epistles, written on his way from Antioch to Rome, are notable as the earliest authority for a defined episcopal organisation. But they have been largely supplemented and interpolated by the hand of some pious forger, and the fifteen Epistles of Ignatius' authorship have by modern critics been reduced first to seven, then to three. During Trajan's reign lived Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, the propagator of the doctrine of a millennium. He was probably a disciple, not of St. John the Evangelist, but of a noted presbyter of the same name. His teaching, however, was supposed to agree with John's predictions in Revelation ch. xx., and "Chiliasm" was accepted not only by Cerinthians and Montanists, but by Justin, Irenæus, and other orthodox divines.

Trajan's rescript had made Christianity a *religio illicita*. Under Hadrian (A.D. 117),
The persecution moderated under Hadrian. himself a zealous religionist, governors and mobs harried the Christians with impunity, till Serrenius Granianus, proconsul in Asia Minor, complained of the disorders thus caused. His successor, Minucius Fundanus, received an imperial rescript, A.D. 126, on the subject. Hadrian's justice dictated severe measures against informers, and his rescript so far protected the Christians. But they

were to be punished if proved to "do anything contrary to the laws."

About this time "Apologies" for Christianity were presented to Hadrian, at Athens, ^{Quadratus and Aristides.} by Quadratus and Aristides, two learned Christians. Until lately these works were only known to us by some quotations in Eusebius. The Apology of Quadratus, now brought to light, is of a moral and philosophical rather than a doctrinal character. It is not known what effect was produced by these two productions.

In A.D. 132 Palestine was disturbed by the pretender Bar-Cochba, "son of a star," who identified himself with the star whose ^{Bar-Cochba's} rising out of Jacob had been predicted by Balaam (Num. xxiv. 17). Irritation at Hadrian's erection of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus at Ælia, the restored Jerusalem, drew many Jews to his standard. The insurgents wreaked cruelties on the Christians for refusing to join Bar-Cochba. Julius Severus crushed this revolt at Bithera (A.D. 135). An edict forbade all Jews approaching Jerusalem henceforward, save on the anniversary of its fall in A.D. 70. To Hadrian's reign belongs *The Word of Truth*, a scurrilous attack on Christianity, ^{Celsus' "Word of Truth."} by Celsus, a Neo-Platonist. We only know the work from Origen's reply. It impugned the mysteries of both Revelations, ridiculed Christianity's claim to universality and its Gospel of self-abasement, noticed its conflicting sects, and derided its founders as "wool-workers, cobblers, leather-dressers, the most illiterate and clownish of men."

Two noted Christian writings are probably to be assigned to the period 100-140. The "Epistle of Barnabas" and "Teaching of the Twelve," *Epistle of Barnabas*, which is found in the Codex Sinaiticus, was doubtless wrongly ascribed to the Barnabas of the N. T. Origen and Clemens appear to regard it as canonical. It is disfigured by allegorical interpretations, but presents a practical epitome of Christian moral teaching in its account of the Two Ways. The *Teaching of the Twelve*, lately brought to light by Bryennios, similarly presents the Two Ways. It also gives a most interesting account of the Baptism and "Eucharist" then celebrated. It is the earliest authority for affusion as an alternative for immersion in baptism. It treats the Holy Communion chiefly as a thank-offering of the fruits of the earth.

Many Gnostic teachers flourished at this time, and Gnosticism generally may here be conveniently dealt with. The Gnostic sects may be thus classified:

1. *Gnostics attached to Judaism.*—*Cerinthus* of Antioch in the first century appears to have faced the Gnostic problem, the relation of the Supreme to sinful "matter," by dividing the Saviour's personality. The "upper Christ" entered at His Baptism; the "lower Christ" was born and crucified. Cerinthus taught the permanency of the Mosaic law, also a Chiliasm, said by his enemies to be of sensual character. *Basilides*, at Alexandria, cir. 125, elaborated the dogmas of emanation and dualism. From the Supreme God proceeded 365 successive series, with seven "powers" in each, and each with a heaven of

of its own. The mnemonic symbol "Abraxas" recorded this number 365. The "first octave" of existence comprised the primal Essence and its seven attributes, "mind," "reason," "thought," "wisdom," "might," "righteousness," "peace." Opposed to the Divine emanations was an evil principle (apparently self-subsistent, as in the Zoroastrian creed). Midway was the Archon, the God of Judaism. "Mind," the highest Æon, inhabited the man Jesus from His baptism, to conduct men from the Archon's sway to the Supreme Being's by faith. Lost souls entered lower animal forms. Against Basilides wrote Agrippa Castor. *Valentine*, cir. 142, was probably educated at Alexandria. He established himself at Rome. His system evolved from the Supreme Bythos ("abyss") a series of thirty Æons, male and female. The whole series formed the Pleroma. Men were divided, according as they attached themselves to "Wisdom" or to "Matter," into the three classes, spiritual, psychic, and destructive, identified respectively with Christians, Jews and Pagans. The world's ruler was the Demiurge, an unconscious agent of the Supreme, and of the "Saviour" (called also Horus, "limitation," as defining the position of each human being). The Saviour united with the Messiah (promised by the Demiurge) at His baptism. Joining with the Saviour, the Christian soul at once enters the spiritual world. Valentine professed to follow one Theodas, a disciple of St. Paul. Among those who developed his system were *Heracleon*, who wrote a commentary on St. John's Gospel (the Scripture most used by this sect); *Ptolemæus* author of the

letter to Flora; *Marcus* the poet and Cabbalist of the school; *Bardesanes*, who verged on orthodoxy.

✕ 2. *Gnostics opposing Judaism from a Pagan view.*

Paganizing
anti-Jewish
Gnostics,

—The *Ophites* or serpent-worshippers represented the Demiurge "*Jaldabaoth*" as not only subordinate, but hostile to the Supreme, whom they named "*Sophia*," Wisdom. The serpent-spirit brought man conscious freedom and ability to rebel against *Jaldabaoth*, who punished him by banishment from the planetary region to earth, and tries still to enthrall his higher consciousness. But *Sophia*, by continual inspiration, preserves a remnant of "spiritual" men, imitators of the pattern-man *Seth*. The Ophite Jesus was bipartite, as in the systems mentioned above. *Jaldabaoth*, from jealousy, compassed his crucifixion, but he was raised to *Jaldabaoth's* right hand, and emancipates the latter's subjects. The Ophites are perhaps connected with some pre-Christian Oriental sect. The *Cainites*, in their hatred of the Old Testament Demiurge, made Cain (instead of *Seth*) the spiritual type of mankind. They revered the bad characters of the O. T., and even *Judas Iscariot* as having compassed Christ's death to thwart the Demiurge. *Carpocrates* of Alexandria, cir. 125, appears to have borrowed much from Plato's *Phædrus*. He held that higher spirits, such as *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Aristotle* and *Jesus*, had attained a *Gnosis* raising them from the corporeal world, with its cycles, transmigrations and religious systems, to their primitive unity with the supreme "*Monad*." Miracles were possible to him who attained this unity. *Epiphanes*,

the youthful son of Carpocrates and the apostle of this system, was honoured at Samos with a temple and altars. The *Nicolaitans* are connected by Irenæus with Nicholas the deacon of Acts vi. More probably they deliberately assumed the name of the unknown sect denounced by St. John in Rev. ii., as being professed Antinomians. They held that men should indulge the flesh to show their contempt for it. A similar sect claimed connexion with Simon Magus mentioned above.

3. *Gnostics opposing Judaism from a Christian view.*—According to *Saturninus* of Antioch, cir. 125, the world was the product of seven star-spirits, headed by the God of the Jews. They war with Satan, but are nevertheless themselves alien from the Supreme. The latter, to destroy their empire, infuses into man a spiritual germ, and at last sends down his *Æon*, "Mind" incarnate. *Tatian*, a Roman rhetorician, was converted by Justin Martyr, but afterwards embraced Gnosticism, cir. 165. His system of *Æons* was seemingly like Valentine's. His condemnation of "matter" was extended to the human soul itself, and he denounced marriage. Ascetics of similar caste were known as *Encratites*. Tatian's "*Diatessaron*" was perhaps based on the four canonical Gospels, but apocryphal materials were probably used too. *Marcion*, cir. 144, the most Christian of Gnostics, excommunicated at his native Sinope, set up as a teacher at Rome. Between the O. T. and the N. T. Marcion saw sheer contrariety, and in the N. T. he recognised the Pauline as the only true evangelical element. Matter, the

Christian
anti-Jewish
Gnostics.

Demiurge, and the Supreme were opposed as in Basilides' system. Christ was the Supreme, self-manifested and hitherto unknown. He appeared suddenly in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. To humour the Jews, He identified Himself with their Messiah. He crushed the Demiurge, who had compassed His death, and then revealed Himself to St. Paul. Marcion, besides ten Pauline Epistles, used an "original" Gospel, possibly a recension of Luke's. His followers were ascetics and coveted martyrdom.

Under Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138, various public calamities kindled popular fury against the Christians as "Atheists." Christianity under Antoninus Pius, Telesphorus, Bishop of Rome, is said to have been martyred. The Imperial edict to the Deputies of Asia Minor, forbidding the punishment of Christians as such, is perhaps not to be ascribed to this emperor. But Antoninus in various rescripts condemned the violence of their assailants.

To this reign probably belong the Visions, The "Shepherd" of Hermas. Com-mandments, and Parables, known as the "Shepherd" of Hermas. A contemporary records that the "Shepherd" was written at Rome during the episcopate of Bishop Pius, 143—157. This work, which has sometimes been mistakenly ascribed to the Hermas saluted by St. Paul in Romans xvi. 14, was in many quarters (perhaps on that account) regarded as canonical. Its author is clearly of the mystic school, and the Shepherd has been called the "Pilgrim's Progress" of the second-century Church. It appears with the Epistle of

Barnabas in the Codex Sinaiticus, probably the oldest extant Scripture MS.

M. Aurelius, the devout Stoic, A.D. 161, zealous for the Roman gods, and ascribing the Christians' constancy to "obstinacy," ^{Christianity persecuted under M. Aurelius.} instigated a cruel persecution. The

Christians were searched for on the testimony of informers, tortured, and if inflexible executed. Allegations of their Atheism, "Thyestean feasts," and "Œdipodean incest," were readily credited, and the cry was "Christiani ad leones." Among the martyrs of Smyrna was its aged bishop Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostle John, burnt as "the teacher of atheism, the father of the Christians, the enemy of our gods," A.D. 167. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians is still extant. At Lyons ^{Polycarp and the martyrs of Gaul.} and Vienne, in A.D. 177, numbers were

tortured and beheaded, refusing to save themselves by recantation. Bishop Pothinus, of Lyons, dying in prison, was succeeded by the Presbyter Irenæus, who was at Rome during this outbreak. He is said by Gregory of Tours to have made almost all the town-folk Christians. His chief work was the *Refutation of Knowledge, falsely so called*. He was probably martyred cir. 202.

Justin Martyr was probably beheaded at Rome in 164. Born at Sychem of Gentile parents, Justin had tried every philosophical ^{Justin Martyr.} system before, convinced by the fortitude of the persecuted believers, he embraced the Christian Faith cir. 133. His first Apology addressed to Antoninus, refutes the popular charges against Christianity, and

*Justin Martyr's
apology*

rebutts them by instancing the abominations of paganism. It appeals to the holy lives of the Christians, and enlarges on the chief Christian doctrines and the hold they had already won. The testimony here given to N. T. books and Christian rites is most valuable. While we notice a distinct assertion of faith in a Sacramental Presence, the Communion is a pure thank-offering; its propitiatory value is unknown. Here we may state Tertullian's words prove this rite to be now severed from the Agapæ, and usually celebrated at dawn. The third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, fixed the rule of receiving the Communion fasting. Justin's second Apology is probably addressed to Aurelius. It taxes the Senate with the injustice of executing Christians unaccused of crime. His other works are the *Dialogue* with Trypho the Jew, the *Cohortatio ad Græcos* and *Oratio ad Græcos*, and the treatises *Against Marcion*, *Against all the Heresies*, and *On the Soul*.

★ In A.D. 166 Athenagoras' *Embassy in behalf of the Christians*, addressed to Aurelius and Commodus, refutes the charges of Atheism, and immoral and unnatural practices. This Athenagoras is said, by a very doubtful authority, to have been the first head of the Catechetical School, afterwards presided over by Pantænus, Clemens, and Origen. The Apology of Melito of Sardis, cir. 167, urges that Christianity would only be persecuted by bad emperors, an argument disproved by the conduct of the pious Aurelius himself, and by that of other religious rulers. Other

Apologies of
Athenagoras,
Miltiades, and
Apollinarius.

Apologies were composed by Miltiades, a rhetorician, and Apollinarius, Bishop of Hierapolis.

The well-known legend of the Thundering Legion belongs to Aurelius' reign. The story that the prayers of Christians in one legion procured a storm, which relieved the thirst-stricken Roman army and averted the attack of their foes, the Quadi and Marcomanni, may have a basis of fact. But the title "legio fulminea," wrongly said to originate with this affair, was applied to the twelfth legion from Augustus' time onward. Tertullian's statement, that Aurelius wrote about the event, and passed a law punishing the accusers of Christians, is questionable.

Story of the
Thundering
Legion.

Hegesippus probably died in this reign. His chronicle of Christian history, to the time of Anicetus of Rome, is known to us through Eusebius' quotations.

Hegesippus.

The Phrygian enthusiast, Montanus, taught at Pepuza, in Mysia, cir. 157—171. He identified himself with the Paraclete, denounced judgments on the empire, anathematised learning and philosophy, and preached extreme austerity. Pepuza was to be the metropolis of the millennium. Celibacy was strongly advocated, and no second marriages were allowed. Two ladies, Priscilla and Maximilla, left their husbands to be the companions of Montanus. The Montanist sect became noted for the view that such sins as apostasy, murder, and adultery were irremissible. Montanism fell foul of the Church in regard to the treatment of those persecuted Christians who had saved their

Montanus
and the
Montanists.—
Tertullian.

Montanists

lives by flight, or purchased exemptions. The most noted adherent of Montanism was the great Latin writer Tertullian of Carthage, whose Apology dates from Severus' reign, and who died cir. 245. Tertullian had been an advocate or rhetorician. He was converted in manhood, and was perhaps ordained a presbyter. His works were numerous, and treated of various points of Christian doctrine and practice. In 235 the Council of Iconium condemned Montanism.

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, wrote at this time the *Ad Autolychum*, and a lost treatise against Marcion. Eusebius has also preserved for us some fragments from Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, who he says wrote seven Epistles to various Churches. The quotations he gives are all seemingly from an Epistle to Soter, Bishop of the Roman Church cir. 168—176.

We here notice that Eleutherius, the successor of Soter, is said in a sixth century MS. to have received a request from the British king, Lucius, to "make him a Christian." Bede and the Book of Llandaff give additional details. Fagan and Dyvan are the names of Eleutherius' envoys. The island becomes Christian. Archbishoprics are founded at London, York, and Cæleon. Without attempting to analyze this legend, we may remark that the existence of a Church in Britain one hundred and fifty years later is indisputable. British bishops were present at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, and attached their signatures to the condemnation of the Donatists.

It is said that the favour of the Emperor Commodus,

A.D. 180, was won for the Church by his courtesan Marcia. Irenæus speaks of the Christians as now enjoying all civil privileges. Yet in Asia Minor some were executed by the Proconsul Arrius Montanus. The law against informers initiated by Hadrian still held good, and we are told that when the Christian senator Apollonius was impeached at Rome by his slave, both were beheaded. A civil war succeeded Commodus' death, and during this period of confusion "many martyrs," according to the contemporary Clemens, "were daily burned, crucified, or beheaded." The victories and subsequent accession of Septimius Severus, by restoring order, doubtless rescued the Christians from much unauthorised persecution, A.D. 193. It is even said by Tertullian that Severus openly showed favour to the Church, having been restored to health by the skill of Proculus, a Christian slave. He recognised that many "men and women of the highest rank belonged to this sect," and "openly resisted the fury of the populace." But this interval of peace was destined to be of short duration.

Varying
fortunes of
the Church,
180-202.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD CENTURY.

Law of Severus and renewal of persecution.
IT would seem that Severus' jealousy of "close associations" suggested the law of A.D. 202, which forbade conversions to Judaism or Christianity. Such a law would naturally, in the case of a missionary religion such as Christianity, be provocative of severer procedure. The third century thus ushers in a period of fearful persecutions, which were in no way abated when Severus was succeeded by the insane Caracalla, A.D. 211. We read how at Carthage, Perpetua, a young mother, was given to the wild beasts, along with other faithful catechumens; and how at Alexandria, Potamiena and Marcella were stripped naked and suffused with boiling pitch. Leonidas, Origen's father, was one of the Alexandrian martyrs, and the boy Origen had to be forcibly detained by his mother from sharing his sufferings.

Got. 211. Theod. 211.
Clemens, the convert of Pantæus, had succeeded him in the Catechetical School, cir. A.D. Alexandrinus. 188, and appears to have retired to Jerusalem during these troubles. Like other Alexandrian teachers, this great writer aimed at reconciling the Gnostics and Neo-Platonists to Christianity. Gnosis,

says his *Stromata*, must be the result of faith and not food in the Christian doctrine and scriptures. Clement also wrote the *Exhortation to the Heathen*, exposing the folly of polytheism, and the *Pedagogue*—giving instructions to a young Christian convert.

The third century introduces us to the first of the innumerable controversies about the mystery of the Trinity. Theodotus, a tanner of Byzantium, had taught at Rome that Christ had merely grown up under the influence of the Spirit. Bishop Victor excommunicated Theodotus, but his party survived and elected Natalis, an aged confessor, as its bishop. Natalis afterwards recanted, but Artemus perpetuated a kindred doctrine. At the opposite side of speculation lay the Patripassian theory, that the Father was one with the human Jesus. Praxeas known as an opponent of Montanism, brought this view from Asia Minor to Rome, and to Carthage, where he was assailed by Tertullian (himself destined to be a Montanist). Noetus, of Smyrna, A.D. 244, held Patripassian views. Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra, taught that the Son was not distinct from the Father till His Incarnation. Sabellius of Patesburg, cir. 257, the most profound of these theories, regarded the Divine Essence as diffused in three distinct phases, and illustrated the mystery of the Trinity by the sun's three properties of substance, shape, and radiation. Sabellius was opposed by Dionysius of Alexandria, who was thereupon charged with the doctrine that the Son is not consubstantial with the Father, a doctrine he disowned in his *Epistola* and

Defence. A council at Rome, in A.D. 263, condemned Sabellius. Paul of Samosata (Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 260) developed Artemon's view, and so insisted on Christ's human personality, as to make the Divine an external agency. Antioch belonged at this time to Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who continued to patronise Paul after he was deposed in favour of Domnus by the council there in A.D. 269. The letter of this council defines the essential Divinity and eternal existence of the Word, and His relation as Son not creature. Paul retained his emoluments till deposed by Aurelian, in A.D. 272. He is the first heretical bishop whose name is known to Church historians.

* The ignoble sun-worshipper, Heliogabalus, A.D. 219, tolerated strange religions in the hope of furthering his own. The Churches now had peace. His successor, the devout Alexander Severus, A.D. 222, openly recognised the moral excellency of Christianity. A bust of Christ stood with Apollonius of Tyana, and Orpheus, in the imperial chapel; and the Gospel maxim, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them," was engraven on walls and monuments. The Emperor's mother, Mammæa, received private instruction from Origen. A dispute about some ground occurring between the cooks' guild and the Roman Christians, who wanted it as a site for a church, the Emperor's piety induced him to adjudge it to the latter.

The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix was written about this time. It is an Apologue in dialogue form. The

The Church has
peace under
Heliogabalus
and Alexander
Severus.

Toleration of Ch. in Rome

Christian Octavius convinces the heathen Cecilius, answering his allegations, and inferring from the noble fortitude of the martyrs ^{Minucius Felix.} the reality of the religion they professed.

The most famous writer of this early age is Origen, ^{Origen.} *Great Theol*
7 his
 A.D. 253. To his father Leonidas, to Clemens, and the philosopher Ammonius Saccas, he was indebted for his early training. His own indefatigable zeal for literary labour in later life earned him the title "Adamantine." Origen succeeded Clemens in the Alexandrian school while but a youth, A.D. 203, and associated Heraclas with himself in the presidency in order to gain time for private study. Origen is the great searcher after truth of these ages, and his profound intellectual sympathy enabled him to rescue many from the ancient heathen systems and from Gnostic vagaries. The Alexandrian bishop, Demetrius, opposed him from motives of envy, and specially grudged him the patronage of Alexander and Theoctistus, the Bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea. These having ordained him presbyter, Demetrius persuaded a synod to deprive him of orders. The special pretext was that Origen was disqualified by his notorious self-mutilation (the result of a mistaken view of Matt. xix. 12). The spite of Demetrius impelled Origen to retire to Palestine, and the Egyptian bishops were induced to excommunicate him as a heretic. The Eastern Churches supported Origen, Rome abetted Demetrius. The allegations against Origen were revived in later times. It was asserted that he taught, in his *First Principles*, the præ-existence of human souls (and of Christ's human

soul in the Godhead); the future transformation of human bodies into ethereal ones; and the recovery of the lost, and even of devils, through Christ's mediation. Origen was the first to see how ill the Septuagint represented the Hebrew Bible. He undertook the elaborate task of collating the versions with the original. In his "Hexapla," the Hebrew, Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, appeared together with a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew. These pious labours increased his unpopularity. Origen was at Cæsarea during the African persecution of 211—219. Under Decius' attack, which was aimed specially at the leading Christians, he was imprisoned and tortured. From his prison he wrote a letter of encouragement to the Churches. His death, hastened by sufferings, took place in A.D. 254. The works of this great Christian were numerous, including commentaries, scholia, homilies, and devotional treatises. Though the father of true Biblical criticism, Origen maintained in his expositions the allegorical system of the Alexandrian school.

Among Origen's converts was Gregory ^{Gregory}Thamaturgus, made Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, in Pontus, cir. 245. Gregory inclined to Sabellianism. He wrote a eulogy on Origen, an exposition of Ecclesiastes, and probably a Creed. But his pretensions to work miracles are the chief ground of his fame.

The validity of baptism by heretics was now a burning question. Recovered heretics were rebaptized in Africa and the East. Rome took the other view, and Stephen

Validity of
heretical
baptism.

broke off communion with the other Churches when two councils at Carthage decided that heretical baptism was null. The Council of Iconium, in 231, dealing with the question of Montanist baptisms, ruled that baptisms by the unorthodox were invalid, and so impelled the Montanists to become schismatics. This question recurred in the times of Arius, Eunomius, etc. The Council of Arles, in 314, decided the future rule of Western Christendom, viz. that baptism with water in the name of the Trinity was valid.

Hatred of Alexander Severus induced the brutal Maximin, A.D. 235, to persecute the Christian bishops who had enjoyed his ^{Maximin, Gordian, and Philip.} favour. Earthquakes in Asia, which were attributed to the wrath of the neglected deities, rekindled the popular antipathy. The reigns of Gordian, A.D. 238, and Philip, A.D. 244, were more favourable, and a worthless tradition makes Philip do penance for his crimes, and embrace Christianity.

Decius' hatred of his predecessor and zeal for the national gods again turned the current ^{The Decian persecution.} of feeling, and introduced the first organised attempt to obliterate Christianity. A decree ordered all governors to search for those who rejected the national worship. Banishment and confiscation were the lightest penalties incurred by non-compliant Christians. Their usual fate was prolonged torture. Those who succumbed were known in the Churches as *Thurificati*, *Sacrificati*, *Lapsi*; those who contrived to buy a false certificate of their having satisfied the law were called *Libellatici*. The bishops, who were the first object of the attack,

sometimes fled, their position rendering this step the best for the cause. This was the course adopted by Cyprian of Carthage. Fabian of Rome, however, remained to be martyred. Gallus' accession, A.D. 251, brought no respite—pestilence, drought, and famine provoking the populace to fresh fury. Cornelius, Fabian's successor was now executed.

The sufferings of the Church ceased for a while with Gallus' death. But the Emperor Valerian renews the persecution. Valerian, after a few years of toleration, was goaded by the superstitious statesman Macrianus, to revive the persecution. First, in 257 the congregations were prohibited and their pastors exiled. Then in 258 came the order, "bishops, presbyters, and deacons are immediately to be put to death, the rich and noble amerced, degraded, if necessary killed." Already Bishop Stephen of Rome had suffered. Sixtus, his successor, was now martyred with four deacons, and Carthage witnessed the decapitation of the illustrious Cyprian.

Christianity a religio licita under Gallienus. The tide turned when Valerian fell into the hands of the Persians. His son Gallienus appears to have been indifferent to the national religion. It was probably in the interests of peace and order that, in A.D. 259, he issued an edict, securing the Christians in the exercise of their religion and the use of their cemeteries and churches. Christianity was thus made a *religio licita*. Aurelian was cut off while meditating a fresh persecution, and for the rest of the century the Churches had peace.

Cyprian, the noted Father of this troublous period,

had been a rhetorician. Converted in 246, he was elected bishop in 248. Novatus, however, with four other presbyters, raised a

Cyprian.

faction, which first provoked Cyprian by ordaining Felicissimus deacon, and then fell foul of him as to the treatment of the "lapsed." These had largely secured their brethren's forgiveness by appealing, according to an established practice, to the meritorious "confessors," who now issued indiscriminate absolutions, or "libelli pacis." Cyprian harshly impugned this practice, Novatus of course supported it. A synod in A.D. 251 took a middle course, making the absolution conditional on position, degree of guilt, subsequent conduct, etc. But this quarrel begat a schism. Fortunatus being elected by Novatus' party as rival bishop, Cyprian writes to Cornelius on the matter. His letter is important, both as asserting a Judæo-Christian view of the ministry, and as showing that this great maintainer of unity and official right acknowledged no allegiance to Rome.

This independence was proved in 254, when Stephen mistakenly supported two

His independence of R

Spanish bishops, Basilides and Martial, deposed *lapsi*. A council at Carthage confirmed their deposition. Rome was, however, already in theory the Western metropolitan see, and the legend of Peter's episcopate was widely credited, and is attested by Cyprian himself. It is natural to find that the severe Cyprian called Tertullian the Montanist his "Master." Cyprian's works are eighty-one Epistles and fourteen Treatises. They are mostly practical, discussing the treatment of the lapsed, heretical baptisms, and Novatian's schism.

Novatian, who must not be confounded with Novatus his contemporary, maintained at Rome that the *sacrificati* and those guilty of mortal sin could not be absolved in this world. There was long delay in filling up the Roman see at this troubled time; at last Cornelius, a man of more tolerant ideas, was chosen. Novatian aided, perhaps incited, by the turbulent Novatus (despite the latter's having taken the opposite side at Carthage) got himself ordained anti-pope by some Italian bishops. Both parties intimated their appointments to the Churches. Cyprian and the leading bishops (with the exception of Fabius of Antioch) supported Cornelius. Novatian was excommunicated at a Roman synod. His followers became schismatics, termed themselves Cathari, "Pure," forbade second marriages, and rebaptised those whom they drew away from the Church's communion. The first Council of Antioch met to condemn them.

About 270, Porphyry, a native of Phœnicia, wrote against Christianity. Porphyry probably combined Platonism with a spiritual polytheism. He affects, however, regard for "national" religions. He attacked both the O. T. and the N. T., and profited by the rigid artificialism of the exegesis of the day. He exaggerated the difference between St. Peter's teaching and St. Paul's, and assailed the prophetic character of the Book of Daniel. Porphyry also wrote *The Philosophy of the Oracles*, which exhibited alleged oracular responses as a foil to Christian prophecies.

But the most remarkable heresy of this time was

Manichæism, a strange medley of Christianity and Oriental systems, founded by the Persian ^{Manichæism—} Mani or Manes (*b. cir. 240*). The aim of ^{career of Mani,} this teacher was probably to reconcile the systems of Christ and Zoroaster with Buddhism. The kingdoms of Light and Darkness are represented as opposed. The Ruler of Light begets the Æon, "Mother of Life," who generates the primitive man. He together with the five elements is deputed to war against Darkness. Worst of in the struggle, man is assisted by "the living spirit," but part of his soul has already been finally combined with Darkness. The purer parts of the combination evolve the sun, moon, and planets; the less pure, this world. From the Supreme emanate the Son and the Holy Spirit. Mani sometimes called himself the Paraclete, but generally seems to have adopted the Apostolic style of 1 Cor. i. 1. His history is as obscure as his system. It seems he was driven from the court of Sapor I. by the Magi, *cir. 270*, travelled in India, China, and Turkestan, returned to Persia on Hormisdas' accession, *A.D. 272*, and was received with favour. The next king, Varanes, however, espoused the cause of the Magi. The founder of Manichæism was pronounced a heretic, and flayed alive, *cir. 277*, and his skin was stuffed and hung on the gates of the city Djondishapur. His disciples were numerous. They were divided into Auditors and Perfect, the latter an ascetic priesthood, twelve of whom ruled the society under a head representing Mani. There were also seventy-two bishops, with presbyters, deacons, and missionaries as subordinates. Manichæism made progress in Egypt, and Diocletian

issued a cruel decree against its adherents there in A.D. 296. A contemporary Egyptian sect, the Hieracites, named after Hierax, an ascetic, made the Gospel a severer system than Judaism, prohibiting the perfect from wine, flesh and marriage. They are said to have allegorized the O. T., taught that Melchisedec was the Holy Ghost, and held a peculiar view of the Resurrection.

CHAPTER IV.

FOURTH CENTURY.

THE fourth century introduces the terrible persecution of the Church instituted by the Cæsar Galerius, but usually named after his superior, Diocletian.

The persecution
under
Diocletian.

The first imperial edict of A.D. 303 ordered the civil disfranchisement of Christians, and the destruction of their churches and Scriptures. Two fires in the palace of Nicomedia being attributed to the Christians, edicts of a more severe character were issued. At first all clergy, then all Christians, were to be imprisoned and tortured till they sacrificed. Everywhere this persecution raged with cruelties too horrible to describe, except in the Province of Gaul, ruled by Constantius. Diocletian's colleague, Maximian, and the Cæsar Maximin, hated Christianity as intensely as did Galerius himself; and amid political changes, the outbreak continued till the year 311. Among the martyrs were the Bishops of Nicomedia, Tyre, Sidon, and Emesa. Besides these, a vast number of clergy and laity were burnt, roasted, impaled, mutilated, and tortured. The boastful inscription was devised, "nomine Christianorum deleto, . . . superstitione Christiana ubique deleta, et cultu

Deorum propagato." Yet the reverse was the truth. It was the dying spasm of paganism. Smitten with a fatal disease, Galerius suddenly issued an edict tolerating the assemblies of Christians, and requesting their prayers, A.D. 311.

Constantine, in A.D. 313, first sanctioned Christianity without allowing it to win converts, then unconditionally. After the suicide of Maximus, Constantine became sole emperor, A.D. 324. He now proceeded to restore and redress the exiled and plundered victims of the persecution, and ordered the churches to be rebuilt. Henceforward he professed to be convinced of the truth of the Christian religion. The legend that Constantine was converted as early as A.D. 312, when marching against Maxentius, by the cruciform apparition in the heavens bearing the inscription "By this conquer," cannot here be discussed. Certainly he did not thus early discard heathen religionism. More probably his conversion was effected by the influence of Hosius of Cordova. A fillip was perhaps given to his apathetic faith when Licinius, his rival, was supported by the pagan party. He deferred baptism till his death-bed, A.D. 337, and his religion did not prevent the murder of his son Crispus, and of his wife Fausta.

Before leaving the period of persecution we notice

Hierocles. Hierocles, president of Bithynia, cir. 306, as assailing Christianity by vile falsehoods about our Lord's life, and insidious eulogies of Pythagoras, Apollonius of Tyana, etc. He degraded the miracles of Jesus to the level of Apollonius', thus

appealing to both the crediters and discreditors of the latter.

The persecution brought the usual disputes about the *sacrificati*. There were also *traditores* Sacrificati and traditores. to be dealt with—men who had surrendered the Scripture MSS. to the proconsul's officers. Meletius Bishop of Lycopolis, was deposed as a *sacrificatus* by the Alexandrian synod. Yet he retained his office, and when Peter his metropolitan fled, invaded the Alexandrian patriarch's functions of ordination. The Great Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, stripped Meletius of all authority without requiring his presbyters to seek reordination. Again, Cæcilian had been consecrated Bishop of Carthage The Donatist schism. in 311 by the bishops of Africa proper, headed by Felix of Aptunga, a suspected *traditor*. On this ground, and because their right of election had been ignored, seventy Numidian bishops had elected the deacon Majorinus to be bishop in his stead. Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ, gave their future name, "Donatist," to the Numidian party. Constantine ordered the Roman bishop, Melchiades, with three episcopal assessors, to adjudicate this case in A.D. 313; and in A.D. 314, to humour the Donatists, convened a council of Western bishops at Arles. Here the characters of Cæcilian and Felix were cleared, and the Donatists lost their cause. Constantine himself gave them a third hearing in A.D. 316, but the result was the same; and these schismatics now waxing turbulent, Constantine banished some of their bishops and executed others. The fury of a faction war induced him to repeal his decision, and give the African Christians

free choice of parties. In 362 the Donatists, favoured by the crafty unbeliever Julian, secured all the African churches. Subsequently the Emperor Gratian endeavoured, not altogether successfully, to quiet them. This numerous body treated all other Churches as heretical, and re-baptized or re-ordained their proselytes. The imperial tribune Marcellinus decided against them in A.D. 411, and they were subjected to cruel persecutions. Augustine did much to recover the Donatists.

The Donatist and Arian feuds both illustrate two striking features in the Church history of the period we now enter on. (1) The autocracy of the Emperor in matters of Church government, acknowledged even while Constantine was unbaptized; (2) the readiness with which zeal for religious opinion enlisted the worst passions and most violent expedients.

Arius was an Alexandrian presbyter. Bishop Alexander's doctrine that the Father and the Son had the same *essence* he denounced as Sabellianism, and, passing to the other extreme, he inferred the Son's inferiority from the dogma of His being begotten. "If begotten," he argued, "there must have been a time when He was not." He "had a beginning," and, therefore, was made "from nothing." The Arian view was condemned by an Alexandrian council, A.D. 321, but the dispute engendered so much strife that, in A.D. 325, Constantine convened the Council of Nicæa, and himself presided at it. Some three hundred and eighteen bishops from various countries attended with many

Characteristics
of this age.

The Arians.

Council of
Nicæa.

clergy. Arius was condemned; Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, and other bishops of the party were deposed and exiled. The council accepted a formula of faith (the nucleus of our Nicene Creed) declaring the Son co-substantial with the Father, begotten even as light from light, and anathematizing the Arians generally. But Constantine, in A.D. 330, moved by his sister Constantia, recalled Arius, and permitted his party to harass the orthodox Athanasius, now Bishop of Alexandria. Refusing to reinstate Arius, Athanasius was deprived by a council at Tyre, A.D. 335, and banished to Gaul. Arius died suddenly, possibly by poison, while entering Constantinople in triumph, but his death did not tend to stay the controversy.

After Constantine's death, A.D. 337, the Empire was divided between his sons, and while in the West Constantine II. and Constans supported orthodoxy, Constantius, the Emperor of the East, favoured Arianism. Christendom now rang with the anathemas of conflicting synods, and the shibboleths of excited sectaries. The semi-Arians promulgated the term *homoiousios*, "of like substance," in lieu of *homoousios*, "of same substance." The Anomœans, led by Eunomius, denied this likeness. There were also the subtle distinctions of the Eusebians, Aëtians, Acacians, and Psathyrians, which need not here be defined. Julian the Apostate gave liberty to all parties; his successor, Jovian, A.D. 363, supported orthodoxy; Valentinian, A.D. 364, did the same, and did much to expel Arianism from the West. But Valens, the Eastern Em-

Continued controversy.—The semi-Arians.

peror, was a strong Arian, and persecuted the orthodox and the semi-Arians with great cruelty. Gratian, A.D. 375, restored quiet, and Theodosius I., A.D. 379, by means of harsh laws, secured the triumph of the Nicene decision. Arianism gradually died out in the more civilised centres of Christianity. But it long survived among the newly-converted Western tribes, the Goths (converted in Valens' reign by Ulphilas and Arian missionaries), Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians.


The long pending Paschal controversy was also decided at the Nicene Council. Most of the Eastern Churches had been wont, on the alleged authority of John and Philip, to hold the Paschal feast on the 14th of Nisan, the day of our Lord's Supper. Consequently in these Churches it often happened that the commemoration of Christ's Passion fell on a day other than Friday, and that of His resurrection on a day other than Sunday. The Westerns, who gave the adherents of this use the title "*quarto-decimani*," observed Good Friday, and celebrated the Paschal supper on Easter Eve. For their practice they claimed the authority of Peter and Paul. Polycarp and Anicetus of Rome, cir. 160, had amicably differed on this point. Victor of Rome, cir. 193, excommunicated Polycrates and other Asiatic bishops for maintaining their traditional use. Irenæus resisted this act of bigotry, though himself celebrating "the mystery of the resurrection only on the Lord's Day." Alexandria and Palestine obeyed apparently the Western practice. The council insisted on this being

everywhere adopted. But the question was further complicated by the survival of different cycles for harmonising the lunar and solar years. There were cycles of 8, 19, 84, and 112 years. The Alexandrian 19-year cycle ultimately obtained, but it was not sanctioned at Nicæa. And thus we find that in the year 455 the Alexandrian Easter was celebrated a week after that of Rome. Victorius, an abbot of Aquitaine, cir. 463, now modified the Alexandrian 19-year method, and established the 532-year cycle (19×28). The British Christians maintained the 84-year cycle at the time of Augustine's mission, but there is no proof that they were "quarto-decimans," as is sometimes alleged.

The conversion of the Emperor to Christianity produced changes in Church government which were tacitly accepted. The presbyter's rights became merged in the bishop's, and the democratic principle ceded more and more to the autocratic. For a while, indeed, clerical functions are seemingly invaded by the State. The Emperor's retention for a century of the title Pontifex Maximus itself probably argues a claim to ecclesiastical supremacy. But Constantine had seemingly some idea of a spiritual kingdom, the counterpart of the secular. Hence, probably, the establishment of ecclesiastical patriarchs, who corresponded to the four prætorian prefects, and of metropolitans, corresponding to, and sometimes themselves called, exarchs. Hence, too, the great pre-eminence of Rome in the West, and of her less successful rival, Constantinople, in the East. A council at Sardica

Church and
State—seculari-
zation of the
Church.

(with few Eastern bishops present) prescribes, in A.D. 347, that cases of deposed bishops shall be referred to Rome. The Papacy becomes a prize of ambition, sometimes, as in A.D. 366, of bloody warfare. As the Empire succumbs to the Church, the ecclesiastical officers become secularised. The bishops are occupied in the pursuit of worldly honours; religious zeal is gradually relegated to monks, who usually confound it with ascetic or dogmatic mania. Such was the drift of the fourth century, which nevertheless was pre-eminently adorned with men of learning.

 We notice the curious twenty months' reaction under Julian the Apostate, A.D. 361. Julian's revival of Paganism. Drawn to Platonism by *Ædesius* of Pergamus and *Maximus* of Ephesus, Julian had retired to Athens to escape the jealousy of his royal kinsman *Constantius*. When raised to the throne, he proceeded to deprive the clergy of some emoluments and exemptions, and to forbid Christians the medical profession and the use of the public schools. He restored temples and images at the cost of their destroyers, and, re-establishing the sacrifices and festivals, performed his duties as Pontifex with ostentatious assiduity. He favoured heretics and Jews. The latter, encouraged to rebuild their temple, were deterred by strange fires and other phenomena, attributed by Christians to Divine interposition. Julian also wrote a book against Christianity. It is known only in *Cyril's* reply, and was probably of not much argumentative power.

Of the other emperors of this century, *Theodosius I.* (379—395) is remarkable as the chief assailant of

heathenism, which he proscribed by severe laws. Neo-Platonism expires in the compromises of such half-Christian philosophers ^{Its extinction.} as Marcellinus, Chalcidius, Themistius, and the beautiful Hypatia, who was murdered by fanatical Egyptian monks, in A.D. 415.

The galaxy of great writers which distinguishes this century may here be noticed without strict regard to political events. ^{The illustrious men of the fourth century.} Lactantius, the most elegant of the Latin Fathers, and tutor to Constantine's son Crispus, died A.D. 329. He assailed Paganism in his *Divine Institutions*, and vindicated God's creative power and care for the faithful in the *De Opificio* and *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. Eusebius, the semi-Arian Bishop of Cæsarea, b. A.D. 270, studied under Pamphilus, founder of the library there (martyred 309). He held his see from A.D. 314—340, declining promotion to Antioch. He wrote much, and his *Church History* and *Chronicon* are valuable; his *Præparatio Evangelica* is commendable. The *Life of Constantine*, *Lives of the Prophets*, *Martyrs of Palestine*, *Commentaries*, etc., are also still read. The illustrious Athanasius was prominent at the Nicene Council while only a deacon, and his subsequent career was one of continuous struggle in the cause of orthodoxy. He succeeded Bishop Alexander in A.D. 326, and held the see with intermissions of banishment till A.D. 373. His works comprise letters, tracts, and expositions; but are chiefly noted as bulwarks of the faith in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity. Cyril, author of twenty-three Lectures to Catechumens on the Creed

and Sacraments, was Bishop of Jerusalem from A.D. 340 to 386, with intermissions of expulsion. Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus, a studious recluse, was drawn to Constantinople in A.D. 379, and there so assailed Arianism that the patriarchate was nigh thrust upon him. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa from A.D. 372—395, equally zealous for orthodoxy, wrote a noted work against Eunomius, besides treatises, letters, homilies, etc. Hilary, of Poitiers, was converted from heathenism in advanced manhood, became Bishop of Poitiers in A.D. 350, and was for twenty years the champion of Western orthodoxy. He was exiled by Constantius for his activity. His great work is the *de Trinitate*. Didymus (b. 309, d. 382) the blind Alexandrian catechist and teacher of Jerome and Rufinus, was noted as a scholar. The *de Spiritu Sancto* is his chief extant work. Basil, a skilful rhetorician and zealous propagator of monasticism, became Archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea in A.D. 370. Numerous sermons, homilies, letters, and tracts of his survive. Ambrose, son of the Prefect of the Western Provinces, and an unbaptized layman, was suddenly raised through the intermediate grades to the Bishopric of Milan by the chance voice of a child, which the people deemed oracular, A.D. 374. He became one of the greatest Western Fathers, and also took a prominent part in State affairs. In A.D. 383 and 386 he was sent as the imperial ambassador to the usurper Maximus. He resisted Symmachus' project of rebuilding the pagan altar of Victory in Rome, and in A.D. 389 he forced Theodosius to do penance for the slaughter of the people of Thessa-

lonica. He wrote many treatises, e.g., *de Officiis*, *de Pœnitentia*, *de Fide*, *de Trinitate*, *de Spiritu Sancto*. Rufinus (b. 330, d. 410) was a supporter of monasticism. After some stay with the monks of Africa, he went in A.D. 378 with his patroness Melania to Jerusalem, where he presided over monks and she over nuns. His admiration of Origen provoked a noted and rancorous quarrel with Jerome. His *Church History* is mostly a translation of Eusebius. Jerome, born at Stridon in Dalmatia, A.D. 331, was educated at Rome, and became a monk at Treves. He afterwards lived alone in the wilderness east of Antioch. In A.D. 382 he became secretary to Pope Damasus. A zealous supporter of the new monastic mania, he gave great offence at Rome by inducing ladies to take vows of celibacy. Jerome left Rome for the East with two female enthusiasts, Paula and Eustochium. They set up monasteries at Bethlehem, and there Jerome lived till 420. He made many enemies, and was choleric and caustic in dealing with them. Jerome's commentaries are of value even to the modern student, as he (almost alone of the Fathers) knew Hebrew. But his great work is the Vulgate, condemned at Rome at first, but destined to become the authoritative Bible of the West. The N. T. of the Vulgate was merely a revision of the Old Latin version, but in the greater part of the O. T. Jerome rightly forsook the Septuagint (the original of the Old Latin) and produced a new Latin translation of the Hebrew. John Chrysostom (i.e. of the golden mouth) was born at Syrian Antioch A.D. 354, and became Patriarch of Constan-

tinople in A.D. 398. Here his asceticism and his denunciation of vice in high places provoked the Empress Eudoxia, who helped his jealous rival, Theophilus of Alexandria, to concoct a list of frivolous charges, and effect his banishment in A.D. 403. Recalled by the populace, he was again removed in A.D. 404, and died journeying to Pitzus in Colchis in A.D. 407. His memory was then cleared of the accusations of Origenism, etc., wherewith he had been aspersed, and he has ever since been held in high honour. His works are numerous, comprising sermons, expositions, homilies, letters, and treatises. Epiphanius, b. in Judæa A.D. 310, visited Egypt in his youth, and embraced Gnosticism there. Discarding this heresy, he took up the monastic doctrine of Antony and Hilarion, founded a monastery in his native village (the ancient Ad), cir. 330, and lived there till made Archbishop of Salamis in Cyprus, in 367. He led the attacks on Apollinaris' heresy, and held a council at Cyprus to condemn Origenism, A.D. 401. He appears to have published nothing till his sixtieth year, when he wrote the *Anchoratus* and *Contra Octoginta Hæreses*. "His learning," says Mosheim, "was great, his judgment rash, and his credulity and mistakes very abundant." He is credited with miracles. He died A.D. 403. The great Augustine was born A.D. 354 in Numidia, attended the rhetorical school at Carthage, embraced Manichæism, was awakened by Ambrose's preaching at Milan, lived as a studious recluse 388—391, became presbyter and Bishop (395) of Hippo, and illuminated Western Christendom till 430. We can only mention the

chief works of this illustrious Father. Besides the immortal *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei*, he wrote epistles, expositions, treatises scientific and moral, and polemical tracts against the Jews, Arians, Manichees, Origenists, Donatists, and Pelagians. Augustine became to the Western Church what Origen had been to a section only of Eastern Christendom; and albeit his name was repeatedly invoked by fautors of new doctrine, he continued in untarnished repute till the Reformation. We shall have frequent opportunity of noticing the tenets of this great authority.

The missionary enterprises of the fourth century must also be noticed. Gregory "the Illuminator," cir. 320, first introduced an organised Church into Armenia, having converted King Tiridates and his nobles. Frumentius, cir. 350, brought the gospel from Egypt to Auxuma, the capital of the Ethiopians. He was consecrated as its first bishop by Athanasius. The king of Georgia, persuaded by a Christian female captive, sent to Constantinople for an ordained ministry. To the Goths the Arian Ulphilas (*d.* 388) gave a translated Bible, in an alphabet formed from the Greek and Latin. Martin, the miracle-working Bishop of Tours (*d.* 397), by destroying heathen temples and spreading monasticism, earned the title "Apostle of Gaul."

This passion for ascetic monasticism (distinct from the useful systems introduced by Benedict in the sixth century) is a feature of the age. It originated in Africa, where the hermit Paul (*b.* 228, *d.* 341) attained a fabulous age in desert solitude. The fame of the mortifications and spiritual

Missions of the fourth century.

Ascetism.
Hermits, and
Monks.

conflicts of his contemporary Anthony studded the Egyptian desert with imitators, 275—356. Pachomius gathered such devotees in *cænobia* on the Nile island Tabenne, cir. 340, and they soon numbered thousands. His sister founded a similar community of nuns. Macarius in the desert of Scetis, and Amun on the Nitrian mountain, incorporated monks who spoke only when they met for worship on Sunday and Saturday. Ephrem brought monasticism to Mesopotamia, Eustathius to Armenia, Basil to Pontus and Cappadocia. As early as A.D. 325 the Council at Gangra anathematizes condemnation of marriage. The passion for asceticism increases, to the detriment of family ties and social life. It approaches madness in Symeon of Asia Minor, for thirty-seven years a “stylite,” or denizen of a pillar, and his later rival Daniel of Constantinople, who lived till A.D. 494. In an age when the Christian duty of self-denial was thus caricatured, it is natural to find such reactionary tendencies as are associated with the names of Aerius and Jovinian. Aerius of Lesser Armenia, cir. 360, besides attacking the stereotyped distinction between bishops and presbyters, denied the utility of fasting, of prayers for the dead, and of ceremonial generally. Jovinian taught at Rome cir. 388. He specially impugned the virtues of celibacy and the exaggerated reverence attached to martyrdom. He also appears to have denied the sacramental grace of baptism. Jerome’s fanatical denunciations of Jovinian were happily answered in Augustine’s moderate treatise, “Of the good of marriage.” Vigilantius, a native of South-west France, and another of Jerome’s numerous enemies

(cir. 400), perhaps approaches nearest to the platform of the sixteenth-century reformers. From Jerome we gather that he attacked veneration of relics, the cult of saints, and bequests of money to sacred spots, exposed the miracles of the day as frauds, and denied the utility of fasting, celibacy and monasticism.

Speculation about the mystery of the Godhead was destined to have long continuance.

The Platonist Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, cir. 360, though a strenuous

Christ's
Personality.
Apollinaris,
Macedonius.

opponent of the Arians, gave a name to a new heresy. He was condemned at certain councils for teaching that in Jesus the Divine Word did the office of a human soul, and thus impugning His perfect humanity. Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra (330-47) was charged with reviving some kind of Sabellianism. Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium (345—372), was deposed for denying the Saviour's pre-existence and the personality of the Holy Spirit. But the latter negation is best known as the heresy of Macedonius, whose followers were called Pneumatomachi. Macedonius was appointed to the See of Constantinople by the Eusebian party, amid tumult and bloodshed. After a troubled episcopate, he was finally expelled by the semi-Arian bishops, Acacius and Eudoxius, A.D. 360. His sect was condemned by the second Œcumenical Council (Constantinople, A.D. 381), assembled by Theodosius I. Here certain clauses relative to the Second Person in the Trinity were added to the Creed of Nicæa, and in view of the Macedonian heresy, all the clauses following "I believe in the Holy Ghost." The Nicene Creed thus assumed its present form,

save that the word *filioque*, indicative of the double Procession of the Holy Spirit, received no public sanction till the third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589. The doctrine of the Personality and Godhead of the Third Person was rejected by thirty-six of the one hundred and fifty bishops, and these were deposed.

- ✕ Priscillian, a wealthy noble and Bishop of Avila, combined a denial of the Three Personalities and of Christ's real humanity with some Gnostic and Manichaean tenets. The Priscillian, Audius. Supporters and impugners of Mariolatry. Bishops Instantius and Sylvianus were his followers, and his sect was popular in Spain. It was condemned at Saragossa in A.D. 380. Priscillian unwisely appealed to the Emperor. Evodius, the judge, tortured and executed the heresiarch and some of his sect, A.D. 385. Martin of Tours was exceptional in disliking these severe measures. They aided the sect's cause, and Priscillianism survived in Spain and the West till cir. A.D. 525. Among other heresies, we notice that Audius of Mesopotamia taught that God possessed a human shape. When banished, Audius spread Christianity among the Goths, founding monasteries and ordaining bishops. The Collyridians were so called from a cake-sacrifice offered to the Virgin as divine; a relic perhaps of Astarte-worship. The prevalent veneration of the Virgin was attacked by Helvidius, a Roman lawyer, cir. 383, and by Bonosus, Bishop of Sardica, cir. 392. Both denied her perpetual virginity. The former was attacked by Jerome, the latter by Ambrose. Revolt from the Collyridian heresy also evolved the Antidico-marianites, an obscure Arabian sect.

It is important to notice that the N. T. Canon was determined for future ages by a fourth-century council. There were some in the Church who had rejected James, Jude, 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, and Revelation, and we find Eusebius

Fourth-century
decisions on
the limits of
the Scripture
Canon.
The N. T.

denominating these books *graphai antilegomenai*. On the other hand, some had received as canonical the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Clement, the Apocalypse of Peter, and other works now known only to the student. The cases of the *traditores* who had given up Scripture manuscripts in the persecution of A.D. 303—311, prompted inquiry as to the range of sacred literature, and this naturally led on to authoritative decisions. The N. T. Canon of the Church took its final shape at the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397. It included the Revelation of John. This alone of our present N. T. Scriptures had been excluded at the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 363, with whose judgment Cyril of Jerusalem, cir. 386, concurs. The Church of Constantinople was long afterwards opposed to the acceptance of this impugned book. In the West, also, doubts were afterwards sometimes expressed by learned men as to the Epistle to the Hebrews. We notice, too, that MSS. of the Vulgate (from the sixth century onwards) often contain among the Epistles the spurious Pauline Epistle to the Laodiceans, of which Jerome himself said, “ab omnibus exploditur.”

The O. T. Canon was affected by the currency of the Septuagint with its apocryphal additions, and the translations based thereon. Jerome's scholarship and

critical training were sufficient to lead him to separate these additions from the pure Hebrew Canon, and his judgment was confirmed by the Council of Carthage, which sanctioned the O. T. Canon now accepted in the Reformed Churches. But Augustine, who by education and character was peculiarly unfitted for such investigations, enumerates the Apocrypha in his O. T. Canon without mark of distinction. The excessive regard paid to this Father in the West perpetuated his uncritical opinions, though learned men down to the Reformation period are found maintaining the distinctive authority of the Hebrew Canon. This liberty was overridden in 1546, when some fifty-three representatives at the Council of Trent hastily declared the enlarged O. T. to deserve "equal veneration" throughout, and by anathematizing those who should not receive all the books as "sacred and canonical," created another barrier between the Roman Church and the Reformers.



CHAPTER V.

FIFTH CENTURY.

THE first seventy-five years of the fifth century comprise the inroads of the Goths, Vandals, Huns and Ostrogoths, and the extinction of the Western Empire with Augustulus, 476. The Popes figure under these trials better than the Emperors. Innocent, the great promoter of papal assumption (402—417), returns after Alaric's destruction of Rome to a city purged of heathenism, and prepared to vest all the dignities of old time in its Christian Pontiff. Leo the Great buys off Attila in 452, and mitigates the fury of Genseric in 455. He rebukes the pretensions of Constantinople, which grasps at a co-equal dignity with Rome at the great Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. Circumstances favoured the growth of papal pretensions. While other patriarchs had inclined to heresy, succumbed to frantic monks, or cowered before grasping emperors and ministers of state, the Popes throughout had usually retained dignity, independence, and the prestige of orthodoxy. It was reserved for Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, to crown the edifice of hierarchical assumption.

Decline of
the Western
Empire.
Increasing
importance
of the Popes.

Not many great writers flourish in this troubled age. In the West, Augustine overtops all others. Sermons and epistles of the great Leo survive. Hilary of Arles, cir. 430, who maintained against Pope Leo his metropolitan jurisdiction over the See of Vienne, produced Lives and Poems, and has been credited with the authorship of the Athanasian Creed, which is probably of later date. The name of the monk Vincent of Lerins, cir. 434, is still mentioned in connection with a test of the range of orthodox doctrine. The noted definition, "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est," occurs in Vincent's one surviving work, the "Commentarium adversus Hæreticos." We may also mention Orosius's Histories (rebutting the imputation of all calamities to Christianity), Prosper's arguments for Augustine's doctrine of original sin, predestination, and free grace; Vigilius' Dialogues on the endless controversy concerning Christ's Divinity. In the East four reigns nearly span this period (Theodosius II., 408; Marcian, 450; Leo I., 457; Leo II., 474). Theodore of Mopsuestia, 392—428, the lost commentator, did much to influence Eastern thought. Among his pupils were such men of mark as Nestorius, Theodoret, and John of Antioch. He anticipated modern theology by setting up against Origen's system a literal exegesis of Scripture, hateful to his contemporaries. The quarrelsome Cyril of Alexandria (412—444), the persecutor of the Jews, Neo-Platonists, Novatians, and Nestorians, survives in Scriptural expositions and polemic tracts. The Egyptian monks Nilus, and Isidore of Pelusium,

produced letters of devotional character, and Basil of Seleucia wrote flowery orations on the Scriptures.

But the subject that especially riveted attention during these times was that subtle controversy as to the person and nature of the God-man Christ, which evoked the third and fourth Ecumenical Councils (Ephesus, A.D. 431, Chalcedon, A.D. 451). Nestorius, a Syrian (who became Bishop of Constantinople in 428), by antagonism to Apollinaris' heresy, evolved a theory which implied a division in the Person of Christ. The Divinity and Humanity were combined, he argued, in the Messiah, *qua* substance but not *qua* person. He endorsed, therefore, his friend Anastasius' discourse which denied to the Virgin the title Theotokos or Deipara, "Mother of God." Eusebius of Dorylæum and Proclus of Cyzicus attacked this position. Cyril, the noted Patriarch of Alexandria, resenting the hold it gained among the Egyptian monks, hurled anathemas at Nestorius, which Constantinople was not slow in returning.

Controversy
continued.
Nestorius'
opinions.

To secure peace, Theodosius II. summoned the Council of Ephesus. Here Cyril, in defiance of the imperial officer, caught a verdict before Nestorius' party had all arrived. This caused a schism in the Council, and Cyril and John the Nestorian Bishop of Antioch, presided at independent sessions. Memnon of Ephesus and the Egyptian bishops were with Cyril, so too three deputies from the Roman See. The Eastern bishops largely abetted Nestorius, and with them was Theodoret of Cyrus, no contemptible

Council of
Ephesus
condemns
Nestorianism.
Its subsequent
history.

ally. The court influence, at first on the Nestorian side, was secured, perhaps bought, by Cyril, and the first sentence of the Council stood. We need scarcely add, that the method by which this verdict was gained does not affect its worth, which is attested by the consensus of the vast majority of Christian thinkers in subsequent ages. The Nestorians anathematized Cyril as a follower of Apollinaris. Their own doctrine was propagated in Persia, by Barsumas, Bishop of Nisibis; and King Pherozes was persuaded to expel the orthodox, and found the still surviving Nestorian Sees at Seleucia and Cesiphon. From Barsumas' school at Nisibis, Nestorianism was spread through Assyria, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, etc. Its adherents are still numerous. They conduct their service in Syriac, accept the third sacrament of Ordination, practise anointing with oil, and venerate Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Antagonism to the Nestorian view gave rise to an error of directly opposite character, that of Eutyches, a monk of Constantinople, who taught that there was but one nature in Christ after the hypostatic union.

Flavian, now patriarch, ejected Eutyches; and the Emperor Theodosius, when appealed to, summoned another Council at Ephesus, 449. At this "robber-council," as it was afterwards called, violent passions prevailed, and Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, outdid in unfairness his predecessor Cyril. Flavian was mobbed and beaten, and a condemnation of the orthodox doctrine of two natures in the Incarnate Word was forced on the assembly. Pope Leo now

Jan 7-92
The Monophy-
site view.
Robber-Council
of Ephesus.
Council of
Chalcedon.

intervened, and Marcian was persuaded to summon the great Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. Here Dioscorus was deposed, Leo's Epistle to Flavian accepted as a rule of faith, and the orthodox view established that in Christ there dwelt one Person, but two natures, unconfounded, unchanged, undivided, inseparable. Jealousy of Constantinople, which was elevated by this council supreme above the patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, perhaps explains the murder of Dioscorus' orthodox successor Proterius, and the elevation of the Monophysites Ælurus and Peter Mongus. There now sprang up yet another theory at Antioch. Here by a subtle distinction Bishop Peter "the Fuller" maintained the one nature, but made it a twofold or composite nature. This view gradually ousted that of Eutyches among the Monophysites.

The Henoticon or concordat of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, 482, was propounded by the Emperor Zeno with a view to peace. The Henoticon causes fresh dissensions. The doctrine, but not the name, of the Chalcedon Council was specified, and it was called the doctrine of the first two Councils. Both Nestorius and Eutyches were termed heretical. Peter Mongus and Peter Fullo were induced to subscribe the Henoticon; but only in the new Patriarchate of Jerusalem was it popular. Alexandria deemed itself betrayed. On the other hand, Pope Felix III. denounced Acacius for dishonouring the fourth Council. The apparent desertion of the Monophysite party by its leaders gave them the name Acephali. This was afterwards exchanged for "Jacobites," from the circumstance that Jacob Baradæus, in 585, took the leadership of the

party, and revived its vigour. Excommunications were interchanged between Acacius and Felix III., and Rome and Constantinople were at variance on the subject of the Henoticon till A.D. 519. John of Constantinople then succumbed to Pope Hormisdas, eulogised the fourth Council, and allowed Rome to expunge the names of Acacius and Zeno from the diptychs.

The contemporary controversy concerning Pelagianism lay chiefly in Western Christendom. Pelagius and his followers. Pelagius, a British monk, and Cœlestius, an Irishman, broached their view of the freedom of human will, in Rome, Africa and Palestine. The capacity for good works was God's gift, they said, but not the will or performance. They denied the taint of original sin, and held that it was possible for men to live sinlessly. Orosius impeached them, but the Council of Diospolis, in A.D. 417, cleared them of censure, and Pope Zosimus himself was beguiled by their equivocating phraseology. At the other pole of thought, and equally unknown to earlier Fathers, were Augustine's doctrines of unconditional election and irresistible grace, and final perseverance. Africa had already condemned Cœlestius at the Council of Carthage, A.D. 412. Augustine now conducted against Pelagianism a warfare which effected its condemnation at the third great Council of A.D. 431. The spread of Pelagianism in Britain suggested the mission of the Gallican bishops, Germanus and Lupus, A.D. 429, who founded orthodox seminaries and monasteries there. The extreme opinions of Augustine were modified by the monk Cassian, 430,

and his disciples at Marseilles, who were stigmatised as semi-Pelagians. The semi-Pelagian Faustus, Bishop of Riez, held a council at Arles against Lucidus' predestinarianism, in 475. Faustus, however, was condemned by Cæsarius, Avitus, Pope Gelasius, and the Council of Orange, 529; and Augustine's views won general acceptance. We shall find the controversy revived in another form by the teaching of Gottschalk in the ninth century.

The wise rule of Theodoric the Ostrogoth at Ravenna ranges from 493—526. An Arian himself, this chieftain claimed and ceded a wide religious toleration, which extended even to Jews. Odoacer, the Herulian sovereign, had claimed the right of confirming the papal elections; and we notice in A.D. 499, that a contested election, attended with bloodshed, was ended by Theodoric's impartial appointment of Symmachus as Pope. The Gothic kings all maintained this right. Justinian's law continued to the Plebs (disfranchised in the other Sees) their rights of episcopal election, but demanded Imperial confirmation. On the other hand, in the East we have an instance of the Crown submitting to the authority of the Church. The Monophysite emperor, Anastasius, 491—518, anticipated the coronation oaths of later times, by assuring to the Patriarch Euphemius a maintenance of orthodoxy. Religious disturbances still vexed the Churches, specially Antioch, perturbed by Peter Fullo's addition to the trisagion of the words, "Who was crucified for us." It was to Vitalian, the orthodox Seythian chief, that the East

Theodoric.
Imperial
interference in
religious
matters.

owed its humbling re-admission to communion with Rome in A.D. 519, which we have already mentioned.

Christianity was now fast securing its footing in Western Europe. Pope Coelestine appears to have sent Bishop Palladius to the barbarous Irish in A.D. 431. Their conversion, however, was effected by the independent labours of Patrick (d. A.D. 493), who is said to have founded the See of Armagh. Subsequently the Welsh missionaries, David, Cadoc, and Gildas, cir. 550, secured for Christianity a permanent footing, and made Ireland noted as an *insula sanctorum*. In the sister island Christianity, from 445 onward, was driven westward by the invading Jutes and Angles; in A.D. 586 it survived only in Wales. The conversion of the Burgundians to Christ, "the powerful God of the Romans," probably dates cir. 415. The Burgundians were Arians like the other tribes, the Vandals, Suevi, and Goths. Ulphilas, who was consecrated bishop at Constantinople in A.D. 348, is the only Arian missionary known to us; and the partiality of these tribes for Arianism is perhaps explainable by hatred of the Romans as much as by the comparative simplicity of this form of Christianity. Chilperic, however, one of the Burgundian princes, embraced the orthodox faith, and it was his daughter, Clotilda, who probably determined the important question which form of Christianity her husband Clovis should adopt. Clovis remained a heathen till the battle of Tolbiac, where he vowed to become a Christian should he win the victory. The Alemanni were defeated, and Clovis, with three thousand of his

Spread of
Christianity in
the West.

Frankish warriors, was baptized at Rheims by Bishop Remigius, A.D. 496. It may be noticed that at this time Clovis was the only orthodox sovereign in Christendom. In the extending Frankish dominion Arianism was exterminated by this sanguinary proselyte. Clovis was a liberal patron of churches and monasteries. His ecclesiastical policy was directed by Remigius, who for seventy-two years presided at Rheims, to which See he was consecrated at the age of twenty-two. The first Frankish Council was summoned to Orleans by Remigius in the year of his death, 511.

Augustinian teaching - Man is dead
 Pelagian " = " " all men
 Semi " " = " " rich

Vol 2. Chap 7

Gregory I.

CHAPTER VI.

SIXTH CENTURY.

THE greatest names of the sixth century are the Emperor Justinian, 527—565, and Pope Gregory I., 590—604. By Justinian's ^{Justinian dominates the Church.} generals, Belisarius and Narses, the Gothic kingdom was overthrown. Narses afterwards ruled Italy as exarch. In 568, however, Alboin effected the conquest of North Italy, and founded the Lombard kingdom at Pavia. The exarchs and Lombard kings divided Italy between them for about 200 years. By Belisarius' African massacres, Arianism lost another stronghold. Justinian was a zealous adherent of the Council of Chalcedon, and his religion was of an active kind. He built twenty-five churches (including St. Sophia's) in his capital, expelled the Neo-Platonists from Athens, subjected pagans and heretics to civil disabilities, and determined the faith as well as discipline of the Church by edicts.

His laws, which claim a quasi-Divine authority, regulate the relations of bishops and clergy, the conduct of monasteries, and even the form and process of ordination.

He enforced on Christendom a censure of Origenism; and appointed Pope Vigilius, 537, as an intended

The Three
Articles.
5th General
Council.

puppet of the Crown, in its interference in the Monophysite feud.

War was at this time waged by the Monophysites, under Theodore Ascidas, on certain writings of three defunct Nestorians, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas. Ibas' letter had been declared orthodox at the Council of Chalcedon. Justinian abetting Ascidas, required all bishops to believe that the council had been duped by a forged document, and to condemn "the Three Articles." Only in Africa was this unwelcome mandate defied. Pope Vigilius, wavering, was detained seven years at Constantinople. He vainly proffered as alternatives a *Judicatum* condemning the Articles, but without prejudice to the fourth Council, and a *Constitutum* condemning them without reflecting on the authors. The fifth Council (Constantinople, A.D. 553), representing all the Eastern bishops, but only five Western, anathematized the Three Articles, and all who should say they had been countenanced at Chalcedon.

Vigilius shortly afterwards (in A.D. 554) tendered abject submission, and was dismissed to his see. Pelagius, his successor, A.D. 555, endorsed the council's decrees, but with difficulty enforced their acceptance in the West. The Bishops of Aquileia, and Istria, even went so far as to break off communion with Rome, and a schism was thus caused, which was prolonged till A.D. 698.

Again there arose speculation on the mystery of the Saviour's composite nature. Julian of Halicarnassus had broached the view

Schism of
Aquileia and
Istria.

Julian and the
Aphartodocetæ.

that Christ's body was "incorruptible," *i.e.* that His death, sufferings, and wants did not arise from a passible human nature like ours. This dogma the patriarchates disowned, not without a sanguinary tumult at Alexandria. The Emperor, however, was attracted by it in old age, and died enforcing its acceptance. The Armenian Church accepted it at the Synod of Thovin, A.D. 596, and still maintains it.

In morals and religious tenets there is a striking difference between the sixth century and the Apostolic age. The Western Church appears to have often lowered its standard to the level of the barbarous tribes it incorporated. The foulest crime in high places was palliated, or expiated with money, and the clergy themselves were sometimes (as in the case of Fridegund's murders) its accessories. In the great patriarchal centres, and especially at Alexandria, it was the fashion that each new dogma should be urged and rebutted with more or less bloodshed. Despite such humiliations as those of Vigilius, the doctrine that the Pope was exempt from earthly judgment was beginning to be credited. The reputations of the clergy were often impaired by their defiance of the unnatural law of clerical celibacy. Honorius, A.D. 420, had forbidden the ordained to marry; Justinian made their offspring illegitimate in the eyes of the law. Naturally, secret concubinage took the place of disreputable marriage. Spiritual dignities were often sold; thus Pope Vigilius bought his troubled reign of Belisarius for

Decline of
practical
religion.

two hundred pounds of gold. Relic-veneration had become a rage, and spurious miracles abounded.

The foundation of the mediæval ecclesiastical system may be regarded as now laid. Clergy hold property by military service. The bishop exercises despotic power over the priests. In his civil capacity he is a censor of public morals, an ædile, sometimes an assessor with the prefect. Tithes are enforced by penal canons in A.D. 585. Right of presentation is conferred on the layman who founds and endows a church, in A.D. 541. The veneration for monastic life is shown by Justinian's law, allowing married persons, children, and slaves to embrace it *proprio motu*. It must be noticed that the system of Western monasticism was altogether reshaped in this century by the exertions of Benedict of Nursia.

A recluse from boyhood, Benedict's fame had enabled him to found twelve houses at Subiaco, which were patterns of monastic austerity. From Subiaco he moved to Monte Cassino, cir. 529. Here he drew up his famous "Rule," which became the model of all future systems of monachism. After a year's probation, the Benedictine monk took irrevocable vows of chastity, poverty, and implicit obedience. The hours of worship, official grades, manner of food, etc., were minutely regulated. Seven hours were wisely devoted to manual labour. One result of this rule was that the Benedictines became noted as the scientific agriculturists of their times. Cassiodorus' system of literary studies being added, their cloisters became

The relations
between Church
and State.

Benedict
reshapes
Western
Monasticism.

educational centres, and a refuge for learning, now discouraged and declining. To the laborious Benedictine copyists we owe the survival of many pieces of ancient literature.

In the extreme West we have to notice the somewhat similar work of the Irish missionary Columba and Columban. Columba. His houses at Hii, one of the Hebrides (founded first for mission-work among the Picts and Scots, cir. 563), became in later times a great centre of education. A little later than Columba came Columbanus, also an Irishman, and a monk of Bangor. Columbanus was a missionary rather than a monk. From Burgundy, where he had rebuked the vices of King Thierri, he fled, after founding houses at Anegray, Luxeil, and Fontaines, to Austrasia. Theodore II. drove him into Switzerland and Italy, and the missionary now founded the monastery at Bobbio near Pavia, cir. 610. His follower Gall completed the work of Columbanus in Switzerland. Columbanus' Rule included a severe and elaborate penitential system. His establishments gradually assimilated themselves to the popular Benedictine system.

The great Gregory himself is first known as a founder of Sicilian monasteries, and head Gregory I., his rule and his tenets. of St. Andrew's house at Rome. In A.D. 578, Gregory was the papal envoy to Constantinople, where he maintained against the Origenist Eutychius the more material view of the Resurrection body. The papacy was forced on him in 590, a troubled time. This great Pope's letters show the wide range of his responsibilities and talents.

He was a practical ruler rather than a theologian. He left, however, voluminous writings, of which the best are the Pastoral and the Morals. By appointing "vicars" Gregory extended Roman authority to the Churches of Gaul, Spain, and Africa. He continued Rome's recent protest against the Byzantine Patriarch's assumption of the style "Œcumenical Bishop." It is remarkable to find a Pope denouncing such titles as "proud and foolish," and "an imitation of the devil." Consistently Gregory disclaimed for himself the title "Universal Pope." In Gregory I. we have a favourable type of a sixth-century divine. He demands clerical celibacy, but disapproves of Justinian's sanction of the divorce of would-be monks. He venerates relics, but distrusts modern miracles. He believes in a purgatorial fire, and almost anticipates the transubstantiation theory. He hates heathen literature.

The episode in Gregory's career most interesting to English readers is his mission of Augustine to this island. The story is too well known to be detailed here.

*The Mission of
Augustine.
Anglo-Saxon
Christianity.*

Augustine's success was to some extent ensured by the marriage of King Ethelbert to Bertha, daughter of the Christian Frankish king, Charibert. The visit of Augustine to Kent resulted in the baptism of Ethelbert and some ten thousand subjects, A.D. 597, and in the foundation of the See of Canterbury. Other envoys, Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus, had a short-lived success in Essex and Northumbria. Augustine came with the pall of a papal delegate, and an elaborate system of organization, which the

refusal of the British Christians to relinquish their peculiar usages made inoperative. The bishops and learned men of the native Church were probably more disgusted with Augustine's arrogant demeanour than with the terms they refused, viz. that they should adopt the Roman Easter and Roman way of confirming the baptized, and should try to convert the hostile Angles. Ethelfrid's massacre of the monks of Bangor Iscoed, in 613, was held by Bede to be a judgment on their contumacy. From Augustine's time two rival agencies wrestled with Saxon heathenism till 664; the Roman from Canterbury, and the Celtic from Hii and Lindisfarne. Corman, Aidan, and Finan were the most noted Celtic missionaries. A collision was brought about by the diversity in the observance of Easter in the palace of King Oswy. Oswy followed the native divines; Eanfleda his queen, daughter of the Kentish Ethelburga, observed the Roman use. Wilfrid, afterwards Bishop of York, won the Northumbrian king's adhesion to the rule of St. Peter's representative at the Council of Whitby, A.D. 664.

It was reserved for Archbishop Theodore to fuse the isolated bishoprics of the Heptarchy into one organisation, with Canterbury as its metropolitan centre. We may here further pursue a theme so interesting to ourselves, and briefly sketch the career of the first Primate of all England. A native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and distinguished as a Greek theologian, Theodore was recommended to Pope Vitalian by the African monk Hadrian, as a fit person for the See of Canterbury. The Pope's nomination had been requested by

Subsequent
organisation of
the English
Church.
Theodore of
Tarsus.

the kings of Northumbria and Kent, and Hadrian had himself been offered and had refused the dignity. Hadrian accompanied Theodore to Canterbury in 669. At a synod at Hertford, A.D. 673, Theodore secured the acceptance of canons for the whole English Church, and of his great scheme for breaking up the large bishoprics, and ranging the whole island under sixteen sees. Canterbury was to be the metropolitan see. Practically, however, it was not till the year 735 that the northern dioceses of Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whithern were subjected to York as their archiepiscopal centre; and the relations of the two primacies were not clearly defined till Anglo-Norman times. Theodore provided for the attachment of priests to the various townships, and is sometimes considered the author of our parochial system. He also inspired the Church of England with a strong literary impulse, the results of which will be noticed hereafter. He himself founded a school and a library at Canterbury, and enriched the latter with Greek copies of the Scriptures imported from the East.

The great names of the sixth century are comparatively few, and little literature of permanent value was now produced. We ^{Writers of this century.} may add to the writers already mentioned, Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, cir. 537, author of works against the Pelagians and Arians; Gregory of Tours, cir. 573, the credulous chronicler of Frankish history and of St. Martin's miracles; Isidore of Seville, the exegete, historian and philologist, chiefly famous in after ages from the fact that the False Decretals were fraudulently ascribed to him.

X

An important addition to the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed first received public sanction in this century. This was the word *Filioque*, indicative of the Holy Spirit's procession "from the Son," as well as from the Father. It was authorised at the Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, and was enforced by later Spanish Councils, with the customary anathema. This doctrine of a "Double Procession" was an important deviation from the teaching of the Greek Church. But the deviation was not new, and the doctrine had been widely accepted in the West. Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great are known to have maintained it. Though the doctrine of the Double Procession was destined to be one of the grounds of the future schism, it does not play such an important part in the controversies of East and West as we might expect. When a frenzied monk at Jerusalem attacked the European pilgrims there on account of the doctrine, a Council at Aix, 809, met to approve of the addition. But Pope Leo III. (796—816), with singular moderation, refused to insert the *Filioque* in the Creed, while expressing full belief in the doctrine. After the final schism, however, the *Filioque* clause found universal acceptance in the West.

Doctrine of the
Double
Procession.
The *Filioque*
clause.

In this connection we may notice the hymn *Quicumque Vult* (the so-called "Athanasian Creed") which expresses the doctrine of the Double Procession, and has sometimes been thought to date from the sixth or even the fifth century. But the commentary on it ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus (cir. 575) is now regarded as

The hymn
called Creed of
Athanasius.

unauthentic, and the conjectures that it was written by Hilary of Arles, cir. 429 (Waterland), Vigilius of Tapsus, cir. 484 (Quesnel), Victricius of Rouen, cir. 401 (Harvey), have given place to a theory of later date. It has even been brought down to the age of Charlemagne, and ascribed to Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia. There appears, however, to be documentary evidence for a date not later than the sixth century.

CHAPTER VII.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE seventh century introduced to the world the great rival religion of the Prophet Mohammed, whose Hejra, the era of his memorable flight to Medina in A.D. 622, is still the chronological starting point of the Mohammedan nations. The Prophet's doctrine was embodied in the term Islam, *scil.* submission to the will of God. The sincerity of this submission was to be attested by the four works, pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, and alms. To sketch the career of Mohammed, and discuss his claims to inspiration, would be to wander out of our province. The reader will remember that the sword of Islam rapidly subdued Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor, and Persia. Making its way westward through Africa, this creed overran Spain, and might have subdued France but for Charles Martel's great victory at Tours, in 732. The Mohammedans utilised the dissensions of the Church; and Mohammed himself is said to have ceded protection by compact to both the Nestorians and the Monophysites. After Amru's capture of Alexandria in 644, Monophysite bishops were established there for nearly a century.

Learning, philosophy, wisdom itself, disappear or

retreat to the seclusion of monastic cloisters, while Christendom continues its suicidal con- tests, and subtle theological disquisitions. The Monothelite controversy. The question now (616-681) was whether each of Christ's natures had an independent will, or whether His human will was the passive instrument of the Divine Logos. The latter view ("Monothelism") was adopted at Constantinople by the Patriarch Sergius; and the Emperor Heraclius espoused it in A.D. 626, hoping thus to win back the Nestorians and Monophysites to the Church. Cyrus of Phasis was promoted to Alexandria to push this policy of compromise; and he reconciled some Monophysites by deciding in council that Christ "wrought the acts appertaining both to God and to man by one theandric operation." But Sophronius, a monk, expressed great horror at this step in the direction of Apollinarian heresy. Becoming Patriarch of Jerusalem shortly afterwards, Sophronius publicly condemned the Monothelite view. Pope Honorius was appealed to by Sergius, and endorsed Monothelism, but seems to have desired a suppression of the controversy.

It was probably with a similar desire that Heraclius in 639 issued his *Ecthesis*. This document, The Ecthesis of Heraclius. while forbidding the use of the controverted expressions, stated that the term "single operation" caused trouble to *some*, and the term "two operations" gave offence to *many*. Constantinople and Alexandria accepted the document with this partial statement of the case. Antioch and Jerusalem were at this time under the Mohammedan yoke, and kept silence. But Rome (now under John IV.) indignantly rejected the

Ecthesis, and condemned the tenets of the Monothelites. A monk named Maximus converted Pyrrhus, Sergius' successor in the patriarchate, from Monothelism. He was admitted to communion by Pope Theodore I. in the year 645, but shortly afterwards incurred a dire papal anathema by relapsing to his former opinion.

The unpopular Ecthesis was superseded in 648 by the "Typus" of the Emperor Constans II. The Typus, and its rejection at Rome. composed by the patriarch Paul. This document in impartial language forbade all the controverted terms, and enforced silence on the disputants. But to the Roman party silence was sin. Pope Martin, with a hundred and five bishops, at the first Lateran Council (A.D. 649), gave authority to the doctrine of "two united wills and two operations." The term "one theandric operation" was denounced at this council; and Theodore, Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, the Ecthesis and the Typus, were all included in a sweeping anathema. Martin escaped punishment for this affront to imperial authority till the year 653, when the exarch seized him, paraded and imprisoned him at Constantinople, and banished him to Cherson, where he died. The monk Maximus and other opponents of Monothelism were also barbarously ill-used by Constans.

Suppressed awhile by these severities, logomachy broke out anew in the reign of Constantine IV.; a hundred and twenty-five bishops again condemning Monothelism at Rome The sixth General Council. in 680. The sixth General Council of A.D. 681 (representing the Empire only) decided in the same way, and anathematised the Monothelite Macarius of Antioch,

and the defunct Pope Honorius. Pope Leo endorsed the sentence, and East and West were again at one.

But at Constantinople it was thought necessary to supplement the dogmas of the fifth and sixth Councils with canons about discipline and ritual. The so-called "Quinisext" Canons of the
Quinisext
Council.

Council met for this purpose in the domed chamber called Trullus, in 685. Its one hundred and two canons, subscribed by the Emperor Justinian II. and the four patriarchs, were forwarded to Rome, where Pope Sergius rejected them, and thus took the first step towards the final schism of East and West. The canons offensive to Rome were six. They declared the privileges of Constantinople; the right of the married to be ordained and retain their wives; the propriety of representing the Saviour in human form (not under the symbol of a lamb); the duty of refraining from "eating of blood"; of not observing Saturdays in Lent as fast days; of observing certain specified canons of earlier date, the list of which was altogether different from that accepted in Rome.

Amid the horrors of the next thirty years we need only notice the short reign of Philippicus the Monothelite, A.D. 711. By this emperor the picture of the sixth Council Reappearance
and
extinction of
Monothelism. was destroyed, and a Monothelite creed pressed on the patriarchs, who accepted it. Rome at this critical moment remained orthodox. But this is the final struggle of Monothelism, which suddenly disappears from the historical foreground, and is at last relegated to the cloisters of the Macarites, an obscure sect of Syria, which survived till 1182.



CHAPTER VIII.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

FROM 715 to 787 the dispute about image worship raged. The dangers of this cult had been apprehended by Epiphanius, and even by Gregory I. They so moved the Emperor Leo III. (the "Isaurian") that he issued edicts for the removal and destruction of pictures and images, A.D. 726. The furious monks of the Archipelago revenged themselves by setting up Cosmas as a pretender to the throne. Bloody riots ensued. The Patriarch Germanus resigned. John of Damascus (the author of the standard work on "The Orthodox Faith"), who was mutilated in the cause, wrote orations to Leo defending the cult in the usual way. In Italy the edicts were rejected, and the exarch was expelled. The position of the Pope was at this time perilous, for the Lombard Liutprand was now threatening Rome with invasion. Gregory II., however, averted the dissolution of the Empire without imperial assistance, and did not hesitate to denounce Leo as a heretic. By Leo's successor, Constantine Copronymus, the struggle was continued against Pope Zacharias. This emperor summoned a Council to Constantinople in 754. No patriarch

Prolonged dispute about
Image worship.

was present, but three hundred and thirty-eight bishops of the Empire agreed in condemning the religious use of painting and sculpture. Thus fortified, the Emperor wreaked cruel vengeance on his antagonists the monks, and tortured and beheaded the new patriarch, Constantine. His son Leo IV., A.D. 775, continued the persecution.

A story full of revolting atrocities ends when Irene accedes, A.D. 780, and labours with her patriarch Tarasius to restore the ^{Irene and the seventh General Council.} images. At the seventh General Council (Nicaea, A.D. 787), where the papal representatives took the lead, pictures were declared to deserve *proskunesis* or adoration, but not the *latreia* due to God. Images were not included (a distinction which still survives in the Greek Church), and there is no thought of representing the Deity, save as incarnate in Christ. Irene blinded and dethroned her own son, and troubles and cruelties were renewed till 815. These, however, are matters of secular history.

Turning to the West, we find the Frankish Church taking its own view of image-worship at the Frankfort Council of 794. This ^{Images in the West. Council of Frankfort.} council was both an Imperial Diet and a Church synod. Bishops from England as well as from Germany and Lombardy attended it, and Alcuin took a leading part. In spite of Rome's adhesion to the disputed cult, and the presence of two papal legates, the recent Nicene Council was contemned, and the middle course which Alcuin adopted in the Caroline Books, was maintained. It was not proposed

to remove the representations, but "both adoration and service of all kinds" were denied them.

This Council of Frankfort is also noticeable as condemning the "adoptionist" doctrine of the Spanish bishops, Felix of Urgel, and Elipand of Toledo. "Adoptionism" was a speculative view, not remote from Nestorianism. Christ's humanity was regarded as adopted into sonship with God, partly by His Incarnation, completely so by His Resurrection. Alcuin himself wrote and argued against this heresy, and a Roman Council condemned it in 799.

We must content ourselves with briefly noticing the important alteration in the political relations of the East and West, and the establishment of Charlemagne's empire. Though the aid of the Mayor Charles Martel had been vainly implored by Pope Gregory III. against the Lombards in 740, Boniface of Mayence, in his character of papal legate, had prepared the way for an alliance between the Frank rulers and the Papacy. Charles' son, Pepin, had secured papal connivance for his own enthronement at Soissons in 752. He returned the favour by wresting from the Lombard king, Aistulf, a large territory, which he awarded "to St. Peter" (A.D. 755). Pope Stephen responded by making Pepin patrician of Rome. Severed from the Eastern Empire by the iconoclastic controversy, the Pope becomes an independent temporal prince. Some Lombard encroachment on the undefined "rights of St. Peter," brought Pepin's successor, Charles the Great, to Pavia in the

Adoptionism
condemned at
Frankfort.

Rise of the
Western Em-
pire. The Frank
kings, and
the Papacy.

year 774. The Lombard dominion was overturned by Charlemagne, and King Desiderius, its last representative, retired to a monastery at Liège.

Charlemagne was, of course, welcomed at Rome as the champion of the Church. He proceeded to extend the papal domains, which henceforward comprised the whole exarchate. The political relations of the Papacy and the Empire at this point are somewhat obscure. In 785, Pope Hadrian's letter to Irene acknowledges that sovereign's sway. Yet in 795, Leo III. dutifully announces his election to Charlemagne, the rising potentate of the West, and asks him to send commissioners to administer the oath of allegiance at Rome. On the first day of the ninth century, Charlemagne, while kneeling at the altar of St. Peter, was suddenly crowned Emperor of Rome, by Leo III., who led the way in doing homage. Thus is begun the "Holy Roman Empire," destined to last, in theory at least, a full thousand years.

Charlemagne
and
Leo III.

Whatever the true explanation of the unexpected ceremony at St. Peter's, it was, of course, cited afterwards as justifying papal assumption. Leo had imposed the crown as God's Vicar on earth; the imperial office, therefore, was dependent on the goodwill of the Papacy. Charles' actual treatment of the Church reverses the direction of the inference, and explains how he was once jocosely called "episcopus episcoporum." Even before his coronation he poses as the Justinian of the West. He presides at the Council of Frankfort, superintends the publication of its treatise, and

Charlemagne's
general treat-
ment of the
Church.

lectures Pope Leo in tones of easy condescension. Of his subsequent capitularies, a third part treats of matters ecclesiastical. He enforced education on the clergy and monks, and initiated the discussions in the annual synods, which represented the interests of both Church and State. His mixed commission, the "Missi Dominici," went on circuit to inspect the conduct of both secular and spiritual matters. On the other hand, bishops and abbots are henceforth as integral a part of the rising feudal constitution as the secular counts and dukes; and the payment of tithes, hitherto precarious in the West, was now enforced by law. The laity were commanded to learn the creed and Lord's prayer—in Latin, the language of Rome, if possible. The Roman chant was introduced by Charlemagne as preferable to the Gallican; and the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great was established in the Frankish Church. At home, Charlemagne furnished the great church of Aix with rich ornamentation imported from Italy, and supplied for its service a sumptuously apparelled hierarchy. Abroad, he forced Christianity on the conquered Saxons, at first by sanguinary laws, later by a system of civil federation.

England in this century is distinguished as dis-
 owning the intellectual inactivity that
 now paralyses the greater part of
 Christendom. The labours of Archbishop

Literary
 impulse in
 England.

Theodore and the monk Hadrian were continued by other hands. Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid established the houses at Wearmouth and Jarrow, where the celebrated Bede was educated. The period that

follows Theodore's primacy is the golden age of the Anglo-Saxon Church. To his contemporaries, Bede the Venerable, *d.* 735 (now esteemed merely as a native historian and Bible translator), was an expounder of patristic theology, honoured in Rome itself. Archbishop Egbert, *A.D.* 750, earned fame by founding the school at York and publishing a noted vernacular Penitential. The mysteries of the two Dispensations were set forth in verse by Cædmon, the Anglo-Saxon Milton, whose influence was rivalled by the poet-preacher Aldhelm of Malmesbury. But the greatest name is that of Alcuin, who goes from Egbert's school to be Charlemagne's privy-councillor, and to attract to Tours students of all countries.

England's missionary enterprise kept pace with her intellectual activity. In the seventh century Wilfrid, when ejected from York English Missionaries. for an appeal from King Egfrid to Pope Agatho, had undertaken the conversion of Friesland, and evangelised the still pagan kingdom of Sussex. Wigbert followed in Friesland, and from Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon went Willibrord, *d.* 739, to win Pepin's favour, establish the See of Utrecht, and attempt the conversion of Denmark. Winfrid, or Boniface, a native of Devon, extended Willibrord's work to Hessa, received from Gregory III. a pall as Archbishop of Mayence, and was martyred in Friesland, *A.D.* 755. This Boniface, as an author of ecclesiastical organisation, holds the place in the German that Theodore holds in the English Church. Albeit an agent and vassal of the Pope, Boniface nevertheless ventured to denounce certain abuses at

Rome with marked freedom. Revisiting Friesland in 755, the "Apostle of Germany" was attacked by the heathen and killed.

Charlemagne and Alcuin inspired the Frankish Church with a literary and educational impulse. But secular education was at best confined within the stereotyped lines of the "trivium" (grammar, rhetoric, dialectics), and the "quadrivium" (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy). Above these was a so-called theology, cramped by authoritative sentences, and productive only of subtle and unprofitable disquisitions, the mental gymnastics of the coming schoolmen. Real Biblical exegesis is destined to sleep for centuries. Though Jerome's view of the range of the sacred Canon had been ousted by Augustine, Jerome's Vulgate had become vested with finality as an authorised version by the beginning of the seventh century. For the future it remains the original Bible, both to the few who attempt vernacular translation, and to the many who use the Scriptural text as material for inane allegorical illustration.

It was an age of impostures. The appearance of the False Decretals in the ninth, is heralded in the eighth century by the forged Donation of Constantine. Pepin's Donation of A.D. 756 perhaps suggested the clumsy pretensions of this document. It makes Pope Sylvester baptise Constantine, who, recovering forthwith from a leprous disorder, gratefully surrenders Rome and the royal insignia to the Pope, and endows the see with the Lateran palace, and all the provinces

Education and
theology in
this age.

The Forged
Donation of
Constantine.

of Italy, "or" the western regions. The word "or" itself indicates a forger, who heedlessly identifies the Western Empire of the fourth, with the shrunken Italian Exarchate of the eighth century. The fable, however, having received substantial corroboration by the munificence of Charlemagne, henceforth survived almost unquestioned.

The foundations of the ecclesiastical organisation of the middle ages may now be regarded as established. England herself has forgotten that national independence, for ^{Closer relations of England and Rome.} impugning which Wilfrid of York had suffered deposition in A.D. 689. The occasion and manner of the papal encroachment in this country in 787 are quite typical of Rome's procedure. The ambition of Offa of Mercia had suggested an archiepiscopal see at Lichfield as a rival to Canterbury. Pope Hadrian I. was ready to sell the pall, the badge alike of metropolitan dignity and of allegiance to Rome. We are told that, "*data pecunia infinita*," Higbert was promoted to the new metropolitan see. The Archbishopric of Lichfield survived till 803, when it died, as it had been born, by the fiat of the Pontiff. With Offa began a payment to Rome for the relief of English pilgrims, which gradually developed into the well-known Rome-shot or Peterpence, claimed from William I. by Gregory VII., and paid more or less regularly till 1559. This payment is sometimes ascribed to the earlier sovereign, Ina of Wessex, who in 725 exchanged the crown for the tonsure (a not uncommon procedure in this age), and who ended his days as a Roman monk.

We may here conveniently notice the mutual relations of Church and State, and the social aspects of Western Christianity. Church and State at the close of this century. Everywhere the democratic principle of the early Church is dying or dead. The struggle in the future will be between two autocrats—the Emperor or national sovereign, and the Pope. The attempt of the Frankish Council in 817 to restore episcopal elections to people and clergy is almost the last flicker of independence. In Spain, between 633 and 681, the sovereign established his right of appointing to bishoprics. In England we find the rights of the Witan were invaded in Alcuin's time by the increased control of kings who already disposed of sees by gift. Soon the king contents himself with having his choice published from the cathedral pulpit. The nobles probably still take part in Church councils in all three countries, but only to sanction clerical decisions by statute. The removal of clerical cases from the ordinary courts of judicature is beginning.

- ✕ With respect to the Church's officers, we notice that Official and parochial Church organization. bishops were at this time required to travel yearly throughout their dioceses. Somewhat later, "arch-priests" or rural deans were everywhere appointed to conduct monthly conferences of the clergy. The parochial system, which in England has been dated as far back as Archbishop Theodore, was probably less accordant with the tribal habits of the Franks than of the Saxons. In the next century, frequent laws were passed in the Empire to prevent clergy and monks from travelling

about uncontrolled by the diocesans. Apparently the most undisciplined and discreditable priests of the time were the chaplains of royal and noble houses. The clergy being incapable of appearing in arms or law-suits, *vicedomini* or advocates were paid to represent them for these purposes. These, however, are frequently found acting as tyrants rather than protectors.

The patronage of a church was now vested in the founder, and usually might be bequeathed to his descendants. This concession did not always satisfy the lay patron, who sometimes attempted to farm, tax, or altogether appropriate the parochial endowments. It may be noticed that Charlemagne allowed the sale of churches, and that Lewis the Pious decreed the payment of surplus revenue to the patron of the living. Tithe payment was enforced by the law of Charlemagne of 779. It would seem that in the Western Empire there was no occasion to cite the analogous Jewish payment, since the tithe was the rent paid by the *coloni* to the State under the old Roman system. The *nona* or ninth of the remaining produce was also paid in cases where lands were thus held by corporations and were underlet. It appears that both the *nona* and the *decima* were paid to the Church in the cases where the *ager publicus* had become ecclesiastical property. But it is uncertain whether the "Levitical tithe" was, or was not, a charge distinct from these rent payments. Besides these endowments, which were generally in the hands of the bishop, the Capitulary of Lewis the Pious provided directly for

Lay patronage.
Clerical
emoluments.

the parish priest, by endowing him with *unus mansus integer* free of rent and taxes.

Tithes,
Status of
clergy.
Clerical
celibacy.

It is said that tithe-payment can be traced back to the fourth century; but the first known canons on the subject are those of the Council of Tours, A.D. 567, and Macon, A.D. 585. That tithes were an established payment in England in the eighth century, is attested by Boniface's letters, and by the Council of Calcuith, A.D. 787. The next certain legislation in this country is that of Athelstan, A.D. 920. Ethelwulf's grant of 854 is, however, sometimes cited in this connexion. The tithes almost always supplied a diocesan fund, administered by the bishop; the parish priest thus depended on episcopal goodwill for his income. The usual division of the fund was quadripartite, it being apportioned between the bishop, the priest, the parish church, and the poor. In Spain a tripartite division obtained, the poor being omitted. The English division was also tripartite, it seems, but perhaps on a different system. From all such arrangements there were, doubtless, frequent deviations. In England we find decrees of the years 696 and 742, exempting Church lands from taxation, save for the *trinoda necessitas*, i.e. maintenance of troops, fortresses, and roads with bridges. In France and England respectively, the *wehr* of a presbyter was that of a count and a thane; the *wehr* of an English bishop was that of an earldorman; of an archbishop, that of an atheling. We have noticed that in the East the Trullan Council allowed the ordained to retain their wives. On the other hand, it forbade

them to marry a second time, and separated from their wives clergymen elevated to the episcopate. This became the Greek rule; the West, on the contrary, professedly enforced strict clerical celibacy.

We notice in 750 the creation of the prototypes of our cathedral clergy, the *canonici* of Archbishop Chrodegang, Pepin's nephew. They Chrodegang's
Canonici. were so called as living under a *rule*, somewhat like that prescribed for the monks by Benedict. The bishop takes the place of the Benedictine abbot, and the archdeacon that of the prior, in Chrodegang's system. But the monastic vow of poverty was omitted; the canons could retain and accumulate property. They were obliged, however, to bequeath it all to their brethren. The canonical system was sanctioned by a council at Aix in 816, and soon found acceptance in the cathedrals of France, Germany, Italy, and England. The cathedral chapters henceforward shared public favour with the monastic houses, and became wealthy and powerful. Chrodegang's rule made the bishop an autocrat, and gave him full disposal of the capitular property. This rule was relaxed by Archbishop Willibert's council at Cologne in 873, and the canons gradually secured not only management of their estates, but exemption from their choral duties, which were devolved on subordinate "prebendaries."

The monasteries at this time were mostly under the Benedictine rule. In the case of Monasteries. England, this rule was introduced by Wilfrid of York. Spain, until the ninth century, was exceptional, the houses being chiefly under rules

compiled (partly from Eastern sources) by Isidore of Seville, Fructuosus of Braga, and other Spanish bishops. The exemption of monasteries from episcopal interference (a fruitful source of future discord) was at first ceded by popes and synods on good grounds, the bishops having exacted enormous fees, and claimed a share in all the gifts made to the monks. Gradually all the Western houses secured independence of other authority than that of the Pope; similarly in the East, the monks secured the protection of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The vow of poverty seldom debarred the monks from a corporate enjoyment of wealth; and Charlemagne in 811 censures the abbots for worldliness and extortion.

The fanatical Witiza, afterwards called St. Benedict of Aniane (cir. 775), endeavoured to infuse into the system the austerities of oriental monasticism, first at St. Seine in Burgundy, and then on the river Aniane. The story of Witiza's institution is one which will be repeated frequently in connexion with similar attempts. The pretence of extreme poverty becomes a passport to popularity, to pecuniary support, and eventually to an opulence, belying the founder's leading principle. Benedict himself, however, remained an ascetic till death. He produced a "Harmony of the Rules," in which the old Benedictine precepts are illustrated by those of other monkish legislators.

In England, monasticism was probably seldom of a very severe character. Bede, in 734, describes the corrupt condition of the English monasteries, and notes the curious

Reforms of
Benedict of
Aniane.

Laxity of
English
monasteries.

feature of noblemen assuming a quasi-monastic character for their own houses, in order to secure the privileges and exemptions belonging to *bochland*. Boniface charges the English monks with riot and intemperance, and especially with love of gay clothing, a propensity censured afterwards by the Councils of Cloveshoo (A.D. 747) and Chalcythe (A.D. 785). Alcuin makes the same charge.

Another scandal impugned by Boniface was the indecent behaviour of English female pilgrims journeying to Rome or Palestine. Pilgrimages were a part of the now universally accepted penitential system of the Church. This had also developed a scheme of pecuniary commutation, grateful doubtless to wealthy sinners, but at least attesting the Church's efforts to restrain the indomitable passions of a turbulent generation. It is pleasing to record that the rigours of servitude were much abated by Christianity. The Church put this, as other matters, in the form of a spiritual bargain, and taught masters to bequeath their slaves the gift of liberty, "for the deliverance of their own souls." In 817 the law was established in France, that slaves could gain freedom by being ordained.

Pilgrimage.
Manumission
of slaves.

The superstition of proving guilt by ordeals of various kinds was adopted by the Western Churches, together with other heathen practices. Charlemagne allowed it to continue, though prohibiting appeal to God by fighting. Lewis the Pious appears to have opposed it; his contemporary Eugenius II. is the only Pope who expressly countenanced it. Agobard, Archbishop of

Ordeals.

Lyons, *d.* 841, wrote against the ordeal, as also did Pope Stephen V. in 888; and other great ecclesiastics followed their examples. Archbishop Hincmar, on the other hand, placed ordeals under the superintendence of the clergy, and this rule was sanctioned by several synods. While duels were discountenanced usually by the Church, the ordeal was practised with impunity for another three hundred years.

The services of the entire West were at this time conducted in Latin. Even the Celtic missionaries in England had, it seems, used a Latin Liturgy, though reading the Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular. The last-mentioned practice long survived. It was prohibited in southern England by the Council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747. In the East the rule was to use Greek; the Egyptian Monophysites, however, employed Coptic; and the Nestorians, Syriac. The use of organs for divine service was introduced by Pope Vitalian, 657—672; church bells, which were well known to Bede and Boniface, probably came into use about the same time.

The material view of the Eucharist, afterwards elaborated in the dogma of transubstantiation, is perhaps implied in the language of Bede, Alcuin, and John of Damascus. Its sacrificial character was now acknowledged, and the priests were wont to celebrate the mass without a congregation. But Councils at Mayence, A.D. 813, and Paris, A.D. 829, condemned this usage. The sacrifice was regarded as efficacious, not only for the living, but also for the dead, with whom a conse-

Language of
Services.

Sacrificial view
of the
Eucharist.

crated wafer was sometimes buried. The belief in purgatory (particularly widespread in England) fostered the sacrificial theory.

The Sunday, a matter of ever varying treatment in Church history, was now observed with great rigour, and was protected by many conciliar decrees in the ninth century. It

Sunday,
Festivals and
Holy Days.

was reckoned on the Jewish principle from sunset to sunset; and in the tenth century its range was extended to include from 3 p.m. of Saturday to the dawn of Monday. New Saints days were continually being added. All Saints Day has been assigned to the year 609, when Boniface IV. dedicated the Pantheon as the Church of St. Mary ad Martyres. But probably it is of later date. Epiphanius' conjectures in regard to the immortality of the Virgin Mary, gave rise to a legend that she had been caught up to heaven, and by 781 the legend had fixed a festival of The Assumption. Ember weeks were ordered to be observed at the Council of Mayence, A.D. 813.

Tues -
Feb 2 -

CHAPTER IX.

NINTH CENTURY.

LEAVING the newly-founded Western Empire, we find the East again disturbed by iconoclasm, and the second Nicene Council impugned by Leo V. the Armenian, whose accession dates 813. Leo V. persecutes the Studite image-worshippers. Nicephorus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, could give this scrupulous worshipper no scriptural warrant for the cult of pictures. Theodore, abbot of a large house founded by Studius, insolently denounced him as an innovator, and declared picture-worship essential to a right faith in the Incarnation. Leo, who at first only claimed that the pictures should not be forced on unwilling worshippers, was thus impelled to iconoclasm. The soldiers flung down the statue called "the Surety," from the brazen gate of the palace at Constantinople, and destroyed images elsewhere. Nicephorus was deposed, and the new patriarch, Theodotus, proceeded to annul in a synod (A.D. 816) the decrees of the second Nicene Council. In defiance of an imperial order, Theodore the Studite led a procession of image-bearing monks through the streets. He was thereupon cruelly scourged and banished. But he

succeeded in instigating Pope Paschal to refuse reception to the imperial envoys, and by letters he roused the laity of Constantinople against the iconoclastic clergy. Leo was responding with a raid against pictures and their possessors, when he was assassinated. Michael the Stammerer succeeded to the throne, A.D. 820.

Theodore the Studite was now restored in triumph, but his exultation was checked when Michael declared that, while ceding full liberty of opinion, he would not sanction the practice or preaching of image-worship. Theodore again waxed turbulent, and was again banished. Michael's letter of 824 to Lewis the Pious shows the excess to which the disputed cult was carried. Images stood sponsors for their worshippers' children, monk novices offered them their shorn locks. The consecrated bread was put in their hands before the communicants received it. The colours of the pictures were scraped off and mixed with the sacramental wine. Another iconoclastic emperor, Michael's son Theophilus, succeeds in 829, and another synod under the Patriarch John, condemns the Nicene Council in 833. The zeal of the Studite monks now runs to madness, and Theophilus in true Greek fashion retaliates with tortures, mutilations, and other fearful cruelties. But the Empress Theodora was secretly inclined to the cult. After her husband's death Theodora repeats the part of Irene. On the Feast of Orthodoxy the images were restored and the sees filled with members of the triumphant party, A.D. 843.

The struggle
continues till
Theodora's
accession.

As opposition died out, the offensive excesses of the cult disappeared. Henceforward, the rule of 787 holds good; and while Rome worships statues, and reliefs, the Easterns worship only representations on a flat surface. The Frankish Church conserved its independent opinion on the subject of images till cir. 895, and we find the synod of Paris, in 825, retaining the position of the Caroline Books, that images are only to be used for loving remembrance of the originals. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, in his tract "*De Imaginibus*" apparently disallowed even this use; and Claudius, Bishop of Turin, undeterred by Pope Paschal, indulged an iconoclastic frenzy worthy of an Eastern Emperor. Against Claudius wrote Dungal, a deacon from Scotland or Ireland, who had been established by Charlemagne as a teacher at Pavia.

Theodora's regency was disgraced in 844 by a massacre of the Paulician sectaries, in which it is said 100,000 perished. Carbeas contriving to escape, found a refuge with the Caliph, made Tephrica the headquarters of the sect, and led mixed armies of Paulicians and Saracens against the empire. Michael, Theodora's son, was badly defeated at Samosata, and in Basil's reign the Paulician Chrysocheir pillaged the Asiatic towns, and stabled his horses in the Ephesus cathedral. When Chrysocheir fell in battle in A.D. 871, the Paulicians succumbed, and the sect gradually died out.

The Paulicians are first heard of in 653, when one

Settlement of
this question
in East and
West.

Massacre
of the
Paulicians.

Constantine evolved a religion professedly based, like Marcion's, on the doctrine of St. Paul. He rejected the Old Testament, denounced St. Peter, allowed no sacraments, and disparaged the Virgin. His sect worshipped in meeting-houses (*proseuchæ*), and arrogated to themselves the title "Christian," calling all other believers "Romans." The Gnostic Dualist doctrine reappears in Paulicianism. The Lord of darkness is the Creator of the world, and God of the Old Testament and of the Church; the Supreme is the Paulician Deity and the God of the spiritual world to come. Constantine settled at Cibossa in Armenia, and won many adherents. He was killed by the Emperor's orders in 684, but Symeon, the officer who conducted the persecution of the sect, himself became a convert and assumed the leadership. He and several Paulicians were burnt by Justinian II. in 690. In the year 722 Leo. III. had the leader Gegnæsius examined by the Byzantine Patriarch Germanus. But the heresiarch baffled conviction by equivocations, and escaped punishment. Probably the best of the Paulician leaders was Sergius, who, convinced that the clergy corrupted Christ's teaching and worked false miracles, embraced the tenets of this sect. Becoming its head, he reformed its morals, and widely extended its sway from 801 to 835.

The empire of Charles the Great passed into the vacillating hands of his son, Lewis, termed "Pius," the victim of superstition, and the tool of every rising faction (814—840). The wretched family feuds which this

Principles and
History of the
Paulicians.

The Holy
Roman
Empire.

puppet could not restrain, brought about the "partition of Verdun," A.D. 843. Lothair, with the title of Emperor, retained a long narrow strip of country, including both Aix and Rome. Lewis the German received all the territory east of the Rhine, Charles the Bold ruled *Francia Occidentalis*. The foundations of the future kingdoms of France and Germany were thus laid. Under Charles the Fat, his degenerate great-grandson, all Charlemagne's dominions were once more reunited, only to be again dissevered in 888. The Holy Empire is henceforth a suzerainty based on the theory of religious unity rather than on any civil federation.

It is the counterpart of the sacred Jewish monarchy, and claims in temporal, the allegiance due to the Papacy in spiritual things. In the language of the times the Empire and Papacy together represented the "two swords," of which Christ said, "it is enough." It will be seen that in both dominions the extent and character of the allegiance really rendered depended on the strength of the Emperor or Pope actually regnant. But the ebb and flow of fortune permanently favoured the papal rather than the imperial suzerain. After Gregory VII., the accepted exegesis of the text "they shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure," identifies the greater light with the Popedom, the lesser with the Empire.

It was such sovereigns as Lewis the Pious that gave Rome her advantage. At the meeting of Pope and Emperor at Rheims in A.D. 816, Lewis grovels at the feet of Stephen, receives from him coronation

Papal
encroachments
under Lewis I.,
Lothair I., and
Lewis II.

and unction, and grants him every request he proffers. In 833, when Gregory IV. aids the ungrateful monk Wala against his imperial kinsman, the doctrine is broached that the Pope can judge all causes and is judged by no man. Wala and Paschasius produce canons and decretals—possibly the elements of the great “Forged Decretals”—to support his theory. Already (A.D. 823) Pope Paschal had persuaded the Emperor’s eldest son Lothair to accept a second coronation, as the ecclesiastical sanction to his elevation. In A.D. 844 the old rule requiring imperial confirmation was set aside at the election of Pope Sergius II., who however was called to account by Lothair. The letters of his successor Leo. IV. in 847, are noticeable as setting the Pope’s own name before that of the sovereign to whom he writes, and omitting the word *Domino* in the address. Nicholas I. who became Pope in 858, is famous as a promoter of papal assumption against both secular powers and national Churches. When he visited the imperial camp, Lewis II., in deference to the alleged reverence of Constantine the Great for Pope Sylvester, held Nicholas’ bridle, and walked by his side as he rode.

It is only fair to notice that papal assumption on more than one occasion appears as a counterpart to the tyranny and licentiousness of the sovereign. The scandalous episode in the career of Lewis’s brother, Lothair II., King of Lotharingia, at once reminds us of our own Henry’s intrigue with Anne Boleyn. But the Papacy was on this occasion successful in its conflict with a licentious sovereign and his complaisant

Moral benefit
of Papal
assumption.

ecclesiastics. The Synod of Aix in A.D. 862 had sanctioned Lothair's groundless divorce of Theutberga and his marriage with Waldrada, so too the Synod of Metz in A.D. 863. Nicholas cancelled both the decisions, and proceeded to depose Gunther and Theutgand, the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, for their share in the two councils. It was in vain that the Emperor Lewis II. entered Rome with troops to avenge the insult to the Frankish Church. Waldrada was excommunicated by Nicholas, and neither from Nicholas nor Hadrian II. could Lothair procure sanction for his union. The noted scene at Canossa was anticipated by the latter Pope's discourteous reception of the king on his visit to Rome in A.D. 869.

It is time to notice the document which specially favoured the progress of the new ecclesiastical theory. The Forged Decretals are placed by Robertson "between the sixth Council of Paris in 829, from which the forger has borrowed, and that of Quiercy in 857, where the decretals were cited as authoritative by Charles the Bald." A collection of papal canons and decretals from the pontificate of Siricius to his own time, *i.e.* from 384 to 525, had been made by Dionysius Exiguus. Isidore of Seville, cir. 635, had revised and completed this collection. The forged decretals professed to be the work of Isidore. They trace back the subject to a time when no papal decrees were dreamt of—the time of Clement Bishop of Rome. The clumsy forger makes persons who lived centuries apart correspond with each other, and represents the early Roman Popes as quoting the

Scriptures according to Jerome's Vulgate. The imaginary Donation of Constantine is included in the work. The forger made large use of genuine canons and decretals, of the Theodosian Code, and of the legendary papal biographies called the Pontifical Books. His work "consisted chiefly in gathering these materials (in great part from secondary sources), in connecting them together, and in giving them the appearance of a binding authority." Benedict, the deacon of Mayence, is sometimes regarded as the culprit.

It should be borne in mind that the Decretals, though chiefly favouring the pretensions of Rome, were plainly fabricated in the interests of the whole clerical body, and especially of the bishops. The latter were declared exempt from secular judgment; and accusations against both bishops and priests are hedged by a number of intricate regulations. The jurisdiction of the metropolitans (often at this time the tools of the secular power) is limited by the Decretals in favour of the papal vicars, the "primate," this term comprising the holders of supposed Apostolic sees and of central sees in newly-converted countries. The whole tendency is to secure for the Church extraordinary immunities, and establish a hierarchical position independent of secular authority. The first Pope who publicly appealed to the Decretals was the ambitious Nicholas I. in 864, when opposing Hincmar of Rheims. This champion of archiepiscopal prerogative had deposed one of his bishops, Rothad of Soissons. Rothad appealing to Rome,

Use of the
Forged
Decretals.

Nicholas first cited the canons of Sardica, then the Decretals, as empowering him to annul Hincmar's procedure, and the citation was not impugned. It has been conjectured that Bishop Rothad may have been himself privy to the forgery of the Decretals. Again in 871 Pope Hadrian II. quotes the Decretals. The occasion was the deposition by Hincmar of his nephew and namesake, the Bishop of Laon. Hadrian interposed on behalf of the younger Hincmar, and vainly tried to move the case to his own court at Rome. In reply to his presumptuous letter to Charles the Bald, the Archbishop replies, that for a Pope to speak of "ordering" a king is a new and unexampled audacity. On Scripture, tradition, and the canons the Archbishop relies, in spite of "anything which may have been compiled or forged to the contrary by any persons." This language perhaps indicates a suspicion of the true character of the Decretals. But it never found open expression, and henceforth this document continued in untarnished repute till Calvin's exposure of its character. On the Decretals, says Gieseler, "were founded the pretensions of the Popes to universal sway in *the Church*; while the pretended *donatio Constantini* . . . was the first step from which the papacy endeavoured to elevate itself above *the State*."

In 875 the Pope is found assuming the power of disposing of the imperial title. Lewis II. had died without issue. In spite of the stronger hereditary claims of Lewis the German, Pope John VIII. summoned the Frank

Progress of
Papal
assumption.

sovereign, Charles the Bald, to Rome, and there crowned him Emperor. It is said that Charles gave up on this occasion the imperial right of controlling elections to the papacy, and that he released the Pope from the obligation of homage. Certainly Stephen V. was elected without reference to the Emperor, Charles the Fat, in 885, though not without his angry protest. After this Emperor's deposition in 887, the Popes became mixed in the party strifes that raged in Italy, and the papal elections were henceforward disgraced by tumults and disorders. The personal obligations of Charles the Bald were expressed at the expense of the Frankish Church in 876, when John VIII. appointed Ansegis, the Archbishop of Sens, to be Vicar-Apostolic and Primate of Gaul and Germany. Hincmar and the Frankish clergy bravely resisted this infringement of the prerogatives of the archiepiscopal see of Rheims. But the Emperor did his best to abet it. Again in 878, the Frankish bishops, assembled at Troyes, attempted to confine the papal power as to appeals within the limits of the Sardican canons, and also refused to sanction Charles' donation of the Abbey of St. Denis to the Roman see. Yet Hincmar's own conduct in 882 shows that hierarchical assumption was no monopoly of the representatives of Peter. Disputing with Lewis III. as to an episcopal appointment, he argues that the successors of the Apostles are not to be termed royal subjects. "You have not chosen me to the prelacy of the Church, but I with my colleagues . . . have chosen you to be governor of the kingdom."

*Paris
Ms. A-*

The ninth century produced the first of the many controversies concerning "transubstantiation." In view of modern misuse, it may be premised that behind this term lies the philosophical tenet (long exploded) that all bodies possess a "substantial being" apart from the "accidents" appreciable by the senses. The second Council of Nice in A.D. 787, had determined that the sacramental symbols were no figures or images, but the very Body and Blood of Christ. Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbey (cir. 831), combining theology with the metaphysics of the time, argued that the "substance" was changed after consecration, albeit the "accidents" remained the same. By pressing the rhetorical language of early Fathers, it was easy to show that this rationalistic view of the blessing attached to the sacrament had long been accepted in the Church. But Augustine at least had clearly treated our Lord's expression as figurative. On behalf of Augustine and against Paschasius rose some of the most learned men of the day—Raban Maur, the famous disciple of Alcuin; Walafrid Strabo; Florus, head of the cathedral school at Lyons; and Druthmar, a sensible scriptural commentator. But Paschasius' most active opponent was Ratramn, or Bertram, another monk of Corbey. Bertram defined the change in the sacrament as not material but spiritual, the elements being, in the cases both of Baptism and the Holy Communion, endued with a spiritual power so as to become channels of grace. It is probable that John Scotus wrote against Paschasius; but the later controversialists, who pro-

Transub-
stantiation,
its meaning
and origin.

fessedly quote from him, really cite Bertram's book. It would seem that John Scotus himself viewed the Eucharist as a merely commemorative rite. This was certainly not Bertram's view. His noted ability, and his supposed heterodoxy, perhaps explain the readiness with which the respective parties to this protracted dispute ascribed the book to the great Irish theologian.

The subsequent history of the rationalistic dogma of Paschasius may be here briefly noticed.

In the Anglo-Saxon Church it probably gained little credence. As late as 995

*The dogma's
subsequent
history.*

the homilist Elfric seems to distinctly deny it. But nearer Rome its appearance of piety and its sensational pretensions had secured it increasing favour. Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres in 1020, was regarded as an innovator for opposing it. Berengar, a pupil of Fulbert, cited John Scotus' works as confirming his own view, which was practically that of Bertram. Lanfranc, afterwards William the Conqueror's archbishop, opposed Berengar. John Scotus' views were condemned and Berengar was excommunicated by synods at Vercelli and Rome in 1050. Berengar was even compelled by violence to recant, and to endorse the materialistic dogma of Paschasius. Lanfranc, in 1063-70, wrote the treatise "Of the Body and Blood of the Lord," asserting the doctrine of Paschasius, and denouncing Berengar. In common with other writers on this side, he misrepresents his adversary as treating the sacrament as a mere commemorative rite. Guitmund, a famous pupil of Lanfranc's, attacked Berengar with asperity in his dialogue "Of

the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood." A council at Bordeaux in 1080 appears to have acquitted Berengar, but the materialistic dogma was henceforward generally accepted, and embodied in the word "transubstantiation," a term first applied about the year 1100. It was formally declared an article of faith by the fourth Lateran Council, under Innocent III. in 1215.

While in respect to the Eucharist, Paschasius was impairing the authority of Augustine, Pres.
man 24
Predestina-
rianism.
Gottschalk and
Hinemar. Gottschalk was striving less successfully to exaggerate the great Father's Predestinarian tenets. The son of a Saxon count, Gottschalk left the monastic school of Fulda, to receive ordination somewhat irregularly from a chorepiscopus of Rheims. Influenced by an excessive admiration of Augustine and Fulgentius, he evolved a system of Predestinarianism, to which Bertram, Prudentius of Troyes, Servatus Lupus Abbot of Ferrieres, and other learned men gave adhesion. There is (he said) a twofold predestination, viz. to life and to death. For though the wicked are not irresistibly doomed to sin, yet God's righteous judgments are predestined for them, just as His benefits of grace are predestined for the good. He denied that Christ died for any but the elect; and held, in spite of Augustine, that the first human pair were subject to a predestination. Gottschalk's violent behaviour at the Synod of Quiercy (A.D. 849) so provoked Archbishop Hinemar, that he had him flogged and relegated him to a prison. Hinemar, desirous of vindicating his own position, requested John Scotus,

who enjoyed the patronage of Charles the Bald, to write against Gottschalk.

This learned theologian, in confuting Gottschalk, proved far too much for Hincmar's purpose. Ascribing Gottschalk's errors to ignorance of Greek and a too literal interpretation of Scripture, he argued that

The question
developed by
John Scotus
and the French
Councils.

Divine predestination is no more twofold than Divine wisdom or knowledge, and that it relates only to good. Sin is only a falling short of good, punishment only a falling short of bliss. Eternal life is knowledge of the truth, and eternal death ignorance of it. The human will is free to choose both evil and good. Such opinions were naturally held to savour of Pelagianism; and Prudentius, Florus, and Remigius Bishop of Lyons, attacked their author in writing. Hincmar, disappointed in his champion, summoned against Gottschalk another council at Quiercy, A.D. 853. This council decided that man fell by misusing his free-will; that the free-will lost by the Fall was recovered through Christ; that there is one predestination "which relates either to the gift of grace, or to the retribution of justice;" that the lost are those who have not been chosen by God for eternal Life; but that God did not predestine them to perish, but predestined punishment to their sin. Remigius, dissatisfied with these articles, held a council at Valence in 855, which condemned some of Scotus' propositions, and laid down moderate definitions as to free-will and the extent of the benefits attributable to Christ's death. The Council of Toucy (A.D. 860) adopted a letter of Hincmar's, asserting in con-

ciliatory terms human freedom, the necessity of grace for salvation, the Divine election of the saved, and the death of Christ for all. Hincmar also wrote a large work on the subject. He admits the term "one twofold predestination," but argues that the wicked are merely forsaken by God. Punishment is predestined to the reprobate, but they are not predestined to it. The unhappy Gottschalk was kept in captivity twenty years by Hincmar, and died excommunicate. John Scotus, according to one tradition, was called by Alfred to teach at Oxford, and afterwards at Malmesbury, where he was stabbed with the pen-knives of his pupils. Another account represents him as dying peacefully in France. He was the only great theologian these islands produced in the ninth century. In his knowledge of Greek theology and Neoplatonism, he was raised far above his Western contemporaries. Hence probably the charge that he leaned towards some kind of Pantheism.

A renewal of the feud between Rome and Constantinople was caused by the appointment of Photius to the latter patriarchate.

Photius
Patriarch.

Ignatius (made Patriarch in A.D. 846) had protested against the immoralities of Bardes, the uncle and prime minister of the youthful emperor Michael III., and had consequently been banished on a fictitious charge of treason in 858. Photius, the most learned Greek of the age, was made Patriarch, having passed through all the degrees of ordination in six successive days. The office was seemingly thrust upon him, and he had no share in the gross cruelties inflicted on the unfortunate Ignatius.

Pope Nicholas I. soon found a pretext for interference in the feud that ensued. Assuming a call to arbitrate, he wrote to the Emperor in the style of an independent sovereign, expressing wonder that Ignatius had been deposed without reference to the papal tribunal. He also demanded the restoration of certain territories withdrawn from his jurisdiction, as also of the patrimony of the Church in Calabria and Sicily. The legates, however, who attended the Council at Constantinople (called "First and Second") in A.D. 861, were bribed to acquiesce in its verdict, which recognised Photius as Patriarch. Nicholas thereupon disowned the legates, and in the synod of 863 declared Photius deprived of all spiritual offices. He announced this sentence to the Emperor and to all the Eastern Churches. Photius, in return, anathematized Nicholas. Michael was scheming to secure the countenance of Lewis II. for the intruding patriarch, by recognising him as Emperor of the West, when he was assassinated by Basil the Macedonian. Before this happened, Photius had sent an energetic epistle to the other patriarchs, which besides denouncing a recent papal interference in the newly converted province of Bulgaria, specified the heresies and errors of Rome under five heads. The Roman Church, it was alleged, fasted on the seventh day of the week; sanctioned the use of milk and cheese in the first week of Lent; disallowed the marriage of priests; denied the right of presbyters to confirm; and adulterated the creed by the addition of the Filioque, thus denying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. Photius reprobates

Interference of
Rome. Photius
calls the
Romish Church
heretical.

the doctrine of the double Procession as an insurpassable blasphemy, "deserving of ten thousand anathemas." The Western doctrine and usage was defended in treatises by Odo, Æneas of Paris, and Bertram.

Basil, Michael's successor, thought fit to depose Photius and reinstate Ignatius, and the latter wrote a letter to Rome on the subject, in which considerable deference was paid to the authority of the Papacy. The triumph of Rome was completed by a Council at Constantinople, A.D. 869, regarded in the West as the eighth General Council. Here the Roman legates (two bishops and a deacon) took the lead, and secured the adoption of the sentence against Photius lately passed at Rome. But the jurisdiction of Rome in Bulgaria was not ceded, and Ignatius shortly afterwards consecrated an archbishop for this country, and ejected the Latin clergy from it. A quarrel on this subject was impending between Ignatius and Pope John VIII. when the former died, A.D. 877. Rome now reaped, or professed to reap, another triumph by Basil's restoration of Photius, the announcement of his elevation being construed by the Pope as an act of penitential submission and an acknowledgment of dependence. The insignia of the patriarchate were actually sent to Photius by John VIII., just as the pall was usually sent to the Western metropolitans.

But this success was reversed by the action of another and larger Council of Constantinople, A.D. 879 (the eighth General Council of the Greeks). Here Photius, in the face of the legates, denied that he had been at

**Triumph of
the Papacy.**

**Final triumph
of Photius.
Continuance of
ill-feeling.**

all in the wrong, and assuming the presidency of the council, contrived to have that of 869 anathematized. The Roman demand for Bulgaria was quietly evaded. Strange to say, the legates acquiesced in this council's procedure. But John, when informed of its decisions, waxed furious, and threatened with an anathema all who did not recognise the recent papal sentences on Photius. Subsequent Popes kept up this feud, which was only ostensibly allayed when a reconciliation took place between Pope John IX. and the Patriarch Nicolaus Mysticus in A.D. 898. The Greek Church kept its hold in Bulgaria, and maintained its own differences of doctrine and usage. The ill feeling was thus kept alive which was to result in the final schism of A.D. 1053.

Leaving the great centres of Christendom, we notice the general condition of the Christianity in the West. Church in Western Europe. Friesland and France were at this time repeatedly ravaged by the invasions of the Northmen. These made their way southward even to the centre of Italy, and by destroying Luna, Pisa, and other towns in 857—860, seriously checked the progress of Christian civilisation. England, from A.D. 832 onward, suffered repeated ravages from these pirates, who found in the defenceless wealth of the monasteries an attractive booty. Croyland, Ely, Peterborough, Repton, Lindisfarne, etc., are mentioned as undergoing pillage and destruction. In seven years, it is said, every religious house in Northumbria was exterminated. Bishops and clergy fled, literature and civilisation succumbed, and Christianity itself was threatened

with extinction. The crisis was averted, and a nominal partition of the island effected, in A.D. 878, when Alfred's victory at Edington was followed by the Peace of Wedmore. Guthrum, the Danish chieftain, consented to receive baptism, and twelve years of peace and religious revival succeeded.

The work of Alfred reminds us of that of Charle-

Alfred the
Great.
 magne, but reveals a greater deference to Christian and civilizing influences. His laws, based on the doctrines of Christianity, are pre-
 faced by a version of the Decalogue in which the Second Commandment is omitted. Hence it is inferred that the English no longer maintained their old stand-
 point in respect to image-worship. The impulse Alfred gave to literature and to popular education was destined to be of permanent character. He forestalled the sixteenth-century reformers in his aim of popularizing such literature as had hitherto been studied only by the clergy. It was with this design that he translated into the vernacular the Histories of Bede and Orosius, the Consolation of Boethius, and the Pastoral of Pope Gregory. He is rightly deemed the father of English literature.

Though the obstinate Northmen long withstood the influences of Christianity, it is interesting

Missions to
Scandinavia.
Anskar.
 to notice in this century attempts on the part of the Frank ecclesiastics to evangelize Sweden and Denmark. As early as A.D. 822, Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, undertook a mission to the court of Harold the Dane, who was so far convinced that he received baptism with his family at Mayence in A. D. 826. But the deference shown by

Literature -
 of the last century

this sovereign to Lewis the Pious induced his subjects to expel him. Anskar, a monk of Corbie, resumed the work, and establishing himself at Hamburg (of which he was made archbishop by Pope Gregory IV.), contrived to win the goodwill of Biorn King of Sweden, and afterwards that of the formidable Danish chieftain Eric. Anskar was assisted by Gauzbert and Ardgar. His work was continued with fluctuating fortunes till his death in A.D. 865. Rimbert, his pupil, and pastor of the Danish city of Ripe, succeeded him in the See of Hamburg.

But Christianity was for a long while only very partially adopted by the Northmen.

Denmark.

Following its progress in Denmark, we notice that Henry the Fowler, cir. 934, obtained from Gorm, the first king of all Denmark, a promise that human sacrifices should cease and Christianity be tolerated everywhere. Gorm's son, Harold Blue-tooth, listened to the teachings of Unni, the Archbishop of Hamburg, and of the miracle-working missionary Poppo, and was baptized after his defeat by Otho I., in A.D. 972. He now so intemperately enforced Christianity as to rouse a rebellion headed by his son Sweyn, who ousted him, and for the greater part of his reign persecuted the Church. His successor, Cnut, A.D. 1014, was converted, and became a munificent patron of religion both in Denmark and in England.

Pursuing the story in Sweden, we find that Anskar's work left little permanent effect.

Sweden.

Archbishop Unni endeavoured to convert the country in A.D. 935, but a mere medley of

paganism and Christian dogma was the only result. Olave, King of Sweden in 1000—1024, listened to two English teachers, Sigfrid, Archdeacon of York, and Thurgot, both of whom became Swedish bishops. Again we find the work hampered by the sovereign's impulsive patronage. Under King Stenkil, however (*d.* 1066), the number of Swedish churches was reckoned at eleven hundred. Heathenism revived for a time after Stenkil's death, but King Inge succeeded in firmly establishing Christianity, *cir.* 1075.

From Sweden we naturally turn to Norway.

Norway. Norwegian Christianity came from Eng-

land, where King Haco (938) had been brought up in the court of Athelstan. Haco introduced English clergy, and endeavoured to substitute Christmas for the heathen festival of Yule. Struggles with heathenism ensued, which were ended by Olave Tryggvesen, 994—1000, who laid before the pagans of Norway the same alternative Charlemagne offered to the Saxons, baptism or death. His work was completed by Olaf the Holy, 1019—1033. From Norway the gospel was carried to Iceland and Greenland.

What the Danish pirates were to the north-west of Christendom during the ninth century, the Mohammedan supremacy in Spain, the Mohammedans were to its southern regions. In 827 they succeeded in subjugating Sicily; later they ravaged Corsica and Crete, and even made their way into Calabria. Spain, Sardinia, and the best parts of Africa were already permanently occupied. The Christians of Spain paid for the exercise of their religion with a

heavy monthly poll-tax. In the case of mixed marriages, the Mohammedan partner, if subsequently converted to Christianity, was put to death. In the reign of Abderrahman II. the strained relations of the two religions resulted in a persecution at Cordova, A.D. 850, directly provoked, perhaps, by the fanatical zeal of the Christians. Clergy, monks, nuns, and laity fanned the fury of the Mussulmans and secured the honour of martyrdom, by rushing to the tribunals and denouncing the False Prophet. The Archbishop Recanfrid wisely laboured to suppress this enthusiasm. But it was encouraged by the monk Eulogius and the priest Peter Alvar. Mohammed, who succeeded Abderrahman in 852, extended the persecution, destroying all newly-built Churches, and forbidding ornate services in the old ones. In A.D. 859, Eulogius was executed, together with Leocritia, a young convert whom he had decoyed from the charge of her Mohammedan parents. The persecution ceased with the ebb of Christian fanaticism, and in course of time the two religions lived side by side in mutual tolerance, and even in amity.

Trans. Feb. 16
Thurs
Mar 31

CHAPTER X.

TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES (900—1054).

WITH the deposition of Charles the Fat, in 887, we enter on a period of disorder, irreligion, and intellectual darkness, which embraces the whole tenth century. The Popes were usually

Decay of
Religion.
Depravity of
the Popes.

at best the leaders, more often the worthless tools, of a political faction. They frequently ended a career of depravity by a violent death or in a prison. In the words of the Romanist Baronius, they were "*homines monstruosi, vita turpissimi, moribus perditissimi, usquequaque foedissimi.*" This period was free from theological controversies. It contributed little to the actual growth of Christianity and of ecclesiastical systems, and may be hastily passed over. Pope Stephen V. had favoured the pretensions of Guido the Italian king, and had crowned him Emperor. Pope Formosus, on the other hand, in 891 summoned the German Arnulf against Guido's son. On this account it would seem Pope Stephen VI., in 896, inflicted some extraordinary outrages on the corpse of Formosus, which was disinterred, mutilated, and cast into the Tiber. With the elevation of Sergius III., A.D. 904, began the fifty years "pornocracy" or ascendancy of the abandoned

women, Theodora and her daughters. By these the great see was filled with their paramours' children and grandchildren. John XII., grandson of Marozia, is noticeable as summoning Otho I. to protect him against the oppression of Berengar II., and crowning him Emperor, then turning against him, and so incurring deposition, A.D. 963. Otho then forced Leo VIII. on the Romans in spite of the opposition of the anti-Pope Benedict V. Order was preserved in Rome till Otho's death in A.D. 973. The Tuscan party then rose again under Crescentius, son of the younger Theodora, who defied the imperial authority till A.D. 998. Into what disesteem the Papacy had fallen was shown at the Synod of Rheims, A.D. 991, which independently deposed Archbishop Arnulf for treachery to Hugh Capet, and installed Gerbert. This was done in defiance of the allegations of the monkish faction that "*negotia episcoporum*" belonged to Rome. The Nicene Council was cited at this synod as permitting the judgment of bishops and metropolitans by provincial councils, and the disgraceful state of the Papacy was exposed in the plainest language. But Robert I. of France found it necessary to conciliate the Papacy, and Arnulf was restored in deference to Gregory V. in A.D. 998. The general belief that the Advent of Christ would synchronize with the completion of the thousandth year of grace filled Europe at this time with gloomy apprehension. The business of life was neglected; some rushed into excess of devotion, others into excess of profligacy. The Church benefited by a large increase of endowments. The panic was renewed

after the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks in 1009, this being considered a sign of the approaching end.

In contrast to his predecessors in the papal chair, it is refreshing to notice the elevation of Gerbert, the foremost scientist of his day.

Gerbert's
scholarship
and worth.

Gerbert had studied mathematics and physics in Spain, where the Saracens kept alive the intellectual pursuits neglected by Christendom. He returned to introduce into his school at Rheims the Arabian numerals and the decimal notation, to teach the construction of clocks and astronomical instruments, and even to devise an organ worked by steam. Gerbert had hitherto headed the anti-Roman party. He accepted the Papacy from his imperial pupil Otho III. in 999, and assumed the name Sylvester II., as suggestive of the amicable relations between Constantine, Otho's professed exemplar, and the Papacy.

After the deaths of Otho (1002) and Sylvester (1003) the Tuscan party regained its ascendancy. A crisis was reached when in A.D. 1033, Benedict IX., a boy of twelve, was made Pope, to grow up the vilest and most debauched of men. Driven out by the Romans in favour of Sylvester III. in 1044, Benedict sold his interest in the Papacy to Gregory VI., but repenting of the bargain, resumed his pretensions. The scandal of three Popes defying each other from the three churches of St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, and St. Mary's, was ended by Henry III. at the Council of Sutri, A.D. 1046. All three were set aside in favour of Clement II.

Further
degradation of
the Papacy in
the eleventh
century.

Thurs Feb. 18.

From the depths of moral degradation the Papacy rises speedily to its acme of assumption. The appointment of Leo IX., A.D. 1048, begins the great struggle of Rome against the civil power, directed in this and four succeeding pontificates by the Italian monk, Hildebrand, who himself accepted the Papacy as Gregory VII. in 1073. The policy and career of this famous Pope will be noticed in our second volume. Professional pride, however tainted by superstition and personal ambition, is at all events a less despicable vice than the abject sensuality of which Rome had so long been the centre. It is pleasing to find councils from 1049 onward attempting to suppress simony and clerical immorality, albeit doubtless with the twofold purpose of impugning secular control of patronage, and of enforcing on the clergy an intolerable yoke of celibacy.

It will be understood that this latter restraint had fostered among both monks and clergy much secret and even unnatural immorality. The Milanese Church, following a traditional precept of St. Ambrose, stood alone in sanctioning the single marriage of a priest with a virgin bride. The proverb, "Milan for clerks," testified how conducive the concession was to the well-being of the profession. But the lesson was thrown away on the zealots who denounced the toleration of clerical marriage as the "Nicolaitan heresy."

The would-be reformers of this age may be noticed in chronological order. First, the Benedictine discipline had been revived at Clugny by the Abbot Berno in A.D. 910, and extended by

The Theory of
Papal
absolutism.
Hildebrand.

Effect of
enforced
celibacy. The
contrast at
Milan.

Reform. The
Clugniacs.

succeeding abbots, Odo, Aymardus, Mayolus, and Odilo (*d.* 1048). The adoption of the rules of Clugny by other bodies led to that formal association of many houses under the Abbot of Clugny, called *Congregatio Cluniacensis*. At the close of the twelfth century these houses numbered two thousand.

In England a work of reformation, begun by Archbishop Odo, was carried out successfully by his successor, Dunstan (A.D. 959). Its chief aims were the separation of married clergy from their wives, the expulsion of the secular clergy from cathedral chapters, and the enforcement of the Benedictine rule on all monasteries. During the reign of his puppet Edgar, Dunstan waged a successful war against the married clergy and monks. The married canons of Winchester and Worcester gave place to regulars, and forty-seven monasteries were founded and put under a form of the Benedictine Rule derived from a celebrated establishment at Fleury.

At Liège and Verona the arrogant Bishop Ratherius (939-974) fulminated less successfully against the ignorance, luxury, and licentiousness of bishops and clergy. So impossible was the scheme of enforcing celibacy, that Ratherius was at last obliged to content himself with averting the danger of a hereditary priesthood by insisting that the daughters of the clergy should marry laymen. Pope Benedict VIII. at Pavia in 1022 attacked the "Nicolaitan heresy" by reducing priests' children to a servile status that might not be altered, and the Emperor Henry II. confirmed his canons on the subject.

Odo and
Dunstan.

Bishop Ratherius
and Pope Benedict VIII.

About the same time fresh reformers of the monastic systems appeared in Italy: Romuald, who ruled the Camaldoli establishments (1018—1027), and Gualbert who founded ascetic societies at Vallombrosa (1039—1093). The mania for mortifications, at the instance of Dominic (*d.* 1060) and Peter Damiani, engendered the curious practice of self-flagellation. This became a part of the popular means of composition for future punishment. Dominic recited the psalter twice daily, accompanying each ten Psalms with a thousand lashes. The tariff, according to Peter Damiani, his biographer, was three thousand lashes to a year of penance. This Peter was the champion of Hildebrand's policy, and is also noted as denouncing the immoralities of the clergy in his "*Liber Gomorrhianus*." He received the Bishopric of Ostia (the second dignity in the Roman Church) in 1057.

Monastic reformers and ascetics. Romuald, Gualbert, Dominic, Peter Damiani.

The agitation against "simony," which was initiated by Clement II. and Leo IX., and perpetuated by the influence of Hildebrand, was doubtless largely prompted by hierarchical ambition and desire to free the Church from lay influence. It was encouraged, however, by the reforming emperor, Henry III., who at an assembly at Spire (1047) denounced the prevalence of simony, and declared his own intention of bestowing patronage freely.

The eleventh century outcry against simony.

Leo IX., in defiance of King Henry I., forced upon the French episcopate the noted Council of Rheims (1049), where he not only deposed several

prelates as guilty of simony, but secured an acknowledgment of Rome's claims to be a Court of Appeal. The Bishop of Compostella was here excommunicated for assuming the title Apostolic, and the position of an independent pontiff in Spain. A rule was also passed that none should be promoted to a bishopric without the consent of his clergy and people. At a similar session at Mayence, in 1049, at which the Emperor Henry III. himself attended, Leo asserted Rome's authority over the bishops of Germany.

That some check was necessary to the reckless disposal of patronage in this age, is sufficiently obvious. High positions in the Church were often sold, or regarded as pieces of family property. Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, cir. 950, complains that the "irreligiosi principes" utterly disregarded character in making nominations, and even put mere children into benefices. Thus Count Heribert of Vermandois, cir. 925, made his child Hugo, aged five, Archbishop of Rheims, and got him confirmed by Pope John X. Rome itself had received from the Tuscan nobles a John XII., aged eighteen (955), and a Benedict IX., aged twelve (1033). Constantinople was sometimes similarly disgraced, although in respect to sale of bishoprics Cardinal Humbert testifies that the Eastern Church was comparatively innocent. The Greek emperors maintained a right of nominating not only to Constantinople, but also to other large sees. In 933 the Emperor Romanus had used this privilege to appoint his boy Theophylact, who disgraced the Byzantine

Utilized by
Leo IX. at
Rheims and
Mayence.

The scandal
not factitious
in West or
East.

patriarchate with every kind of indecency for twenty-three years. In the West such right of nomination was claimed or waived according to the character and principles of the emperor or sovereign. Henry the Fowler, *acc.* 918, gave Arnulf the privilege of appointing bishops within his duchy of Bavaria. The saintly emperor, Henry II., *acc.* 1002, made bishops by direct nomination, but probably with the purpose of securing a competent episcopate.

The imperial prerogative of confirming appointments to sees was generally admitted. That this right was confounded with right of nomination was in the West largely due to the feudal relations of the episcopate. It is natural that we find the future controversy as to the limits of the secular power hingeing on the detail of feudal investiture. The bishops received their estates and privileges from their feudal superior by the transfer of a symbol. It was already matter of complaint that the symbol of the ring or the crozier argued that the spiritual function itself was received from the hands of the secular prince. We may notice here that in England this form of investiture was practised under Cnut, *cir.* 1017. It will appear as a burning question in the dispute between Anselm and Henry I.

Its connexion
with the ques-
tion of lay
investiture.

Amid so much that is questionable in the ecclesiastical influences of the age, we gladly notice the limitations on vindictive passions prescribed by the *pactum pacis* and the *treuga Dei*. At a council at Limoges in A.D. 994, during a time of pestilence, a pledge of mutual amnesty was accepted

The Peace
movement.

by the nobles. Again at Limoges, in A.D. 1031, the bishops bound society over to an observance of an unarmed peace. From Aquitaine the *pax* passed into other French provinces. It being found that complete abolition of warfare was impracticable, the modified scheme of the Truce of God was proposed in Aquitaine in A.D. 1041. Reprisals were to be suspended in Advent, Lent, and other sacred seasons, also from every Wednesday evening to the following Monday. Decrees for the immunity of women, clergy, and monks, and for the protection of crops and agricultural implements during warfare, were at the same time passed. The weekly *pax* was still too large a demand for human infirmity, and a council at Elne limited its range from the ninth hour of Saturday to the first of Monday. It appears thus abridged in the laws of Edward the Confessor in 1054. But the larger *pax* of four days is that which received Papal sanction at Clermont in A.D. 1095, and again at the Lateran Councils in 1139 and 1179.

The intellectual life of the tenth century displayed itself chiefly in the pursuit of a system of dialectics, based on the Categories falsely ascribed to Augustine, and in the labours of monkish chroniclers whose names are not worth recording. A kind of revival in favour of higher studies began with Gerbert; and mathematics, medicine, and astronomy, imported from the Saracens of Africa and Spain, gradually made their way into the monastic schools. Robert of France, Gerbert's pupil, *acc.* 996, is conspicuous as a patron of learning and the arts.

In the darkness and intellectual stagnation of the tenth century fittingly begins that fruitless strife as to Plato's doctrine of the reality of "universals" or general ideas, which was waged for centuries between the Nominalists and Realists. The monk Gunzo's question, "*Aristoteli an Platoni magis credendum putatis*," is really closely connected with the great Sacramental Controversy: the Nominalist view favouring the cause of the impugners of transubstantiation. But the belief in the reality of universals such as *genus*, *species*, *differentia*, *proprium*, *accidens*, had been held by Augustine, despite the spiritual character of his sacramental tenets. Nominalism, the opposite view, was the more readily confounded with heresy when shown to contravene the authority of the great Father of the West. The founder of the Nominalist school is said to have been one John the Sophist, a Frenchman. Of his three pupils, Robert of Paris, Arnulph of Laon, and Roscellin of Compiègne, the last is the most famous.

Nominalism
and
Realism.

From insisting against the Realists on the existence of individuals only, Roscellin seemingly went on to broach an erroneous view of the mystery of the Godhead. The Three Persons he maintained to be (though co-equal) distinct, even as three angels or three souls. Roscellin was charged with Tritheism at a Council of Soissons in 1092, and appears to have saved himself by a feigned retractation. Roscellin's chief adversary was the great Anselm of Canterbury. Anselm's *De fide Trinitatis* inveighed against Nominalism,

Roscellin's
Nominalism
and Abelard's
Conceptualism.

which being henceforth confounded with Tritheism, sank in the estimation of orthodox Christians. Abelard (whose career will be hereafter noticed) struck out a new line of definition. His "Conceptualism," which is only Nominalism under a new name, was afterwards in wide favour, especially when Realism was found to lead to Pantheism or the identification of all substances with one substance. Abelard denies the objective reality of Universals, but he ostentatiously disavows his views from the unpopular tenets of Roscellin by insisting that *genus, species*, etc., are something more than words, the words being signs of conceptions. Thus (to quote Mr. G. H. Lewes), "the battle continued to rage throughout the middle ages, and the Church in turn condemned both sides. Nominalism was repeatedly dragged before the councils and condemned. Realism also was found to shelter monstrous heresies."

The most noted writer of the English Church is at this time, Elfric the homilist. He has been sometimes identified with the Elfric who held the see of Canterbury, cir. 996—1005, sometimes with Elfric, Archbishop of York, 1023–51. His works include several Scripture translations, eighty homilies, a book of laws and canons, and some hortatory epistles. Elfric doubtless well represents the Church in whose name he speaks authoritatively, and his testimony to its usages is instructive. In enumerating orders of clergy, he makes the bishop merely the leader of the priestly order as *primus inter pares*. He insists on clerical celibacy, believes in purgatory and in the virtues of

Elfric, the
Anglo-Saxon
homilist.

Victor F. Brown

TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES. 127

extreme unction, but distinctly disowns that material view of the Eucharist, which was soon to win universal acceptance in the West. In "His ghostly body," says Elfric, "which we call housel, there is nothing to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. It is . . . Christ's body and His blood, not bodily but spiritually."

The missions of the tenth century to the North have been noticed in the preceding chapter. In Scotland, we find the great house of Dunkeld—the legitimate descendant of that of Iona—transferred to St. Andrew's (cir. 905), which becomes the primacy of the Scotch Church. Christianity made progress in Moravia and Bohemia during the tenth century. The retention of the Slavonic languages in the services of these nationalities gave offence at Rome. In founding the Bishopric of Prague in 967, Pope John XIII. stipulated for the adoption of the Latin tongue. Poland embraced Christianity under Duke Mjesko, cir. 966, Hungary under Duke Geisa, cir. 980, but Prussia still clung to heathenism. Eastern Christianity won the adhesion of the Russian Grand Duchess Olga, cir. 955. Her grandson Wladimir, after his conversion in 988, caused his subjects to be baptised in crowds in the Dnieper, and under his successors the Church was firmly established in that country.

The Church in
Scotland,
Moravia,
Bohemia,
Poland,
Hungary,
and Russia.

We close this volume with a brief account of the final schism of the Eastern Churches from Western Christendom. This issue had been imminent ever since the time of

The Schism of
the East and
West.

Charlemagne. The final rupture was precipitated by the conduct of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius in 1053. Already fresh irritation had been provoked in the West by the Eastern proposal in 1024, that the title "Universal Bishop" should be ceded alike to the Patriarch and the Pope. Jealousy for Roman prerogative was on this occasion more apparent in the Western bishops than in the Pope John XIX., to whom costly presents had been brought by the Eastern legates, and who had nearly ceded the desired title. Michael's offensive letter to the Bishop of Trani in Apulia (A.D. 1053) was perhaps prompted by the spread of Latin Christianity in South Italy, effected by the Norman incursions. The pirates had throughout shown deference to the Pope, and had even effected an accommodation with Leo. IX., by which they held their conquests under the suzerainty of Rome. Michael's letter is filled with invectives of the errors of the Western Church. It denounces as the chief Latin malpractices the use of unleavened bread at mass, the fasting on Saturdays in Lent, the eating of things strangled, and the singing of the Great Hallelujah at Easter only. He at the same time proceeded to close the Latin churches and seize the Latin monasteries at Constantinople. The answers of Leo. IX. descant, of course, on the prerogatives conveyed to Rome by St. Peter, and retort the charge of erroneous teaching. By a clever piece of diplomacy, Leo at this time secured the alliance of the Eastern Emperor, Constantine Monomachus, against the Normans. Consequently, when Nicetas Pectoratus, a Studite

monk, wrote against the Westerns his "*De azymo, de sabbato, de nuptiis sacerdotum*," the Emperor instead of abetting him, ordered the tract to be burnt, and compelled the author to anathematize his own tenets. Constantine appears to have nevertheless earnestly attempted to effect a reconciliation. But the extravagant demands of the Roman legates, the bitterness of Cardinal Humbert's response to the Patriarch, and the Emperor's own desertion of the Eastern cause had so irritated the Greeks that reconciliation was impossible. Three Roman legates (among them the passionate Cardinal Humbert) waited in vain on the Byzantine Patriarch, with the object of settling the dispute. They at last laid on the altar of St. Sophia an anathema against Michael and his adherents, and then returned to Rome laden with imperial presents (A.D. 1054). Michael retorted the anathema in a council. Peter, the Patriarch of Antioch, appears to have tried to mediate, but the other Oriental sees warmly abetted the cause of Constantinople, and the East and West remained severed. Such is the account of a schism, which, despite the pettiness of the causes originally alleged, has remained unhealed to the present day.

LIST OF SOVEREIGNS AND POPES.

ROMAN EMPERORS.

	A.D.		A.D.
Tiberius	14	Aurelian	270
Caligula	37	Tacitus	275
Claudius	41	Florian	276
Nero	54	Probus	276
Galba, Otho, Vitellius,		Carus	282
Vespasian	68	Carinus, Numerian . .	284
Titus	79	Diocletian	284
Domitian	81	Maximian associated	
Nerva	96	with Diocletian. . .	286
Trajan	98	Constantius, Galerius .	305
Hadrian	117	Severus	306
Antoninus Pius . . .	138	Constantine (the Great)	306
Marcus Aurelius . .	161	Licinius	307
Commodus	180	Maximin	308
Pertinax, Didius Juli-		Constantine, Galerius,	
anus, Niger, Septimius		Licinius, Maximin,	
Severus	193	Maxentius, and Maxi-	
Caracalla, Geta . . .	211	mian reigning jointly	309
Opilius Macrinus, Dia-		Constantine the Great	
dumenian	217	alone	324
Heliogabalus	218	Constantine II., Constan-	
Alexander Severus . .	222	tius, Constans . . .	337
Maximin	235	Julian	361
The two Gordians, Maxi-		Jovian	363
mus Pupienus, Balbinus	237	Valens and Valentinian I.	364
The third Gordian . .	238	Gratian and Valentinian	
Philip	244	I. . . .	367
Decius	249	Gratian and Valentinian	
Hostilian, Gallus . .	251	II. . . .	375
Volusian	252	Theodosius I. . . .	379
Æmilian, Valerian, Gal-		Arcadius in East, Hon-	
lien	253	orius in West . . .	395
Gallienus alone . . .	260	Theodosius II. (E.) . .	408
Claudius II. . . .	268	Valentinian III. (W.) .	424

Emperors of the West - not in list

EMPERORS AT CONSTANTINOPLE. 131

	A.D.		A.D.
Marcian (E.) . . .	450	Glycerius (W.) . . .	473
Maximus, Avitus (W.) . . .	455	Julius Nepos (W.) . . .	474
Majorian (W.) . . .	457	Leo II., Zeno, Basiliscus	
Leo I. (E.) . . .	457	(E.)	474
Severus (W.) . . .	461	Romulus Augustulus	
<i>Vacancy</i> (W.) . . .	465	(W.)	475
Anthemius (W.) . . .	467	<i>End of the Western line</i>	476
Olybrius (W.) . . .	472		

EMPERORS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

	A.D.		A.D.
Anastasius I. . . .	491	Leo V. (the Armenian) . . .	813
Justin I.	518	Michael II. (the Stam-	
Justinian	527	merer)	820
Justin II.	565	Theophilus	829
Tiberius II.	578	Theodora, regent	842
Maurice	582	Michael III. (the Drunk-	
Phocas	602	ard)	855
Heraclius	610	Basil I. the Macedonian	867
Constantine III., Hera-		Leo VI. (the Philoso-	
cleonas, Constans II. . . .	641	pher)	886
Constantine IV. (Pogo-		Alexander	911
natus)	668	Constantine VII. (Por-	
Justinian II.	685	phyrogenitus)	912
Leontius	694	Romanus I.	919
Tiberius III.	697	Constantine VIII. . . .	951
Justinian II. restored . . .	705	Romanus II.	969
Philippicus Bardanes . . .	711	Nicephorus Phocas . . .	963
Anastasius II.	713	John Zimisceas	969
Theodosius III.	716	Basil II. and Constan-	
Leo III. (the Isaurian). . .	718	tine IX.	976
Constantine V. (Copro-		Constantine IX. alone . .	1025
nymus)	741	Romanus III.	1028
Leo IV.	775	Michael IV. (the Paph-	
Constantine VI. and his		lagonian)	1034
mother Irene	780	Michael V. (Calaphates)	1041
Irene deposes Constan-		Zoe and Theodora. . . .	1042
tine VI.	797	Constantine X. (Mono-	
Nicephorus	802	machus) and Theodora	1042
Staurasius, Michael I.			
(Rhagabe)	811		

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WESTERN EMPERORS.

	A.D.		A.D.
Charlemagne crowned	804	<i>Conrad I.*</i>	911?
Lewis I. (the Pious)	810	Berengar (in Italy)	915
Lothair I.	840	<i>Henry I. (the Fowler)*</i>	918
Lewis II. (in Italy)	855	Otho I. crowned E. Frank-	
Charles II. (the Bald,		ish king at Aachen	936
W. Frankish)	875	Otho I., crowned Em-	
Charles III. (the Fat, E.		peror at Rome	962
Frankish)	881	Otho II.	973
Guido (in Italy)	891	Otho III.	983
Lambert (in Italy)	894	Henry II. (the Saint)	1002
Arnulf (E. Frankish)	896	Conrad II. (the Salic)	1024
<i>Lewis (the Child)*</i>	899	Henry III. (the Black)	1039
Lewis III. of Provence			
(in Italy)	901		

* The names in italics are those of German kings who never made any claim to the imperial title.

BISHOPS OF ROME.

	A.D.		A.D.
S. Peter (according to		Anterius	235
Jerome)	42	Fabian	236
Linus (according to Iren-		Cornelius	251
æus, Eusebius, Jerome)	67	Lucius I.	252
Clement (according to		Stephen I.	255
Tertullian and Rufinus)	68	Sixtus II.	257
Anacletus?	78	Dionysius	259
Clement (according to		Felix I.	269
some later writers)	91	Eutychian	275
Evarestus?	100	Caius	283
Alexander?	109	Marcellinus	296
Sixtus I.	119	<i>Vacancy</i>	304
Telesphorus	129	Marcellus I.	308
Hyginus	139	Eusebius	310
Pius I.	143	Melchiades	311
Anicetus	157	Sylvester I.	314
Soter	168	Marcus I.	336
Eleutherius	177	Julius I.	337
Victor?	193	Liberius	352
Zephyrinus?	202	Felix II. (anti-Pope)	356
Calixtus I.	219	Damasus I.	366
Urban I.	223	Siricius	384
Pontianus	230	Anastasius I.	398

	A.D.		A.D.
Innocent I.	402	Sergius I.	687
Zosimus	417	Paschal (anti-Pope) . .	687
Boniface I.	418	Theodorus (anti-Pope) .	687
Eulalius (anti-Pope) .	418	John VI.	701
Celestine I.	422	John VII.	705
Sixtus III.	432	Sisinnius	708
Leo I. (the Great) . .	440	Constantine I.	708
Hilarius	461	Gregory II.	715
Simplicius	468	Gregory III.	731
Felix III.	483	Zacharias	741
Gelasius I.	492	Stephen (II.)	742
Anastasius II.	496	Stephen II. (or III.) .	752 ?
Symmachus	498	Paul I.	757
Laurentius (anti-Pope)	498	Constantine II. (anti-	
Hormisdas	514	Pope)	767
John I.	523	Stephen III. (IV.) . .	768
Felix IV.	526	Hadrian I.	772
Boniface II.	530	Leo III.	795
Dioscorus (anti-Pope) .	530	Stephen IV.	816
John II.	532	Paschal I.	817
Agapetus I.	535	Eugenius II.	824
Silverius	536	Valentinus	827
Vigilius	537	Gregory IV.	827
Pelagius I.	555	Sergius II.	844
John III.	560	Leo IV.	847
Benedict I.	574	Benedict III.	855
Pelagius II.	578	Anastasius (anti-Pope)	855
Gregory I. (the Great) .	590	Nicholas I.	858
Sabinianus	604	Hadrian II.	867
Boniface III.	607	John VIII.	872
Boniface IV.	607	Martin II.	882
Deusdedit	615	Hadrian III.	884
Boniface V.	618	Stephen V.	885
Honorius I.	625	Formosus	891
Severinus	638	Boniface VI.	896
John IV.	640	Stephen VI.	896
Theodorus I.	642	Romanus	897
Martin I.	649	Theodore II.	897
Eugenius I.	654	John IX.	898
Vitalianus	657	Benedict IV.	900
Adeodatus	672	Leo V.	903
Domnus I.	676	Christopher	903
Agatho	678	Sergius III.	904
Leo II.	682	Anastasius III. . . .	911
Benedict II.	683 ?	Lando	913
John V.	685	John X.	914
Conon	685 ?	Leo VI.	928